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THE LIFE of LA FAYETTE



BY WILLIAM CUTTER.

NEW-YORK,

GEO. F. COOLEGE & BRO.

*Deposited in the Clerk's Office
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THE LIFE

OF

GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

BY WILLIAM CUTTER.

"A NOBLE character which will flourish in the annals of the world, and live in the veneration of posterity, when kings, and the crowns they wear, will be no more regarded than the dust to which they must return."—CHARLES JAMES FOX.

"LIBERTY will ultimately be established in the old as well as in the new world; and then, the history of our revolutions will put all things, and all persons, in their proper places."—LAFAYETTE.

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THE LIFE OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND EARLY HISTORY.

THE characters of public men belong to the world. They who come voluntarily forth, or, by the guiding hand of Providence are led forth, from the retired walks of domestic life, to mingle in the strife of events, and exert a moulding influence on communities and nations, are amenable, for their actions, and the principles of their conduct, at the bar of human society. Even the secret motives which sway their decisions, and the disturbing influences which sometimes turn them aside from their direct courses, are legitimate subjects of scrutiny and animadversion. And the lessons which may be derived from such scrutiny, are the most valuable patrimony which one generation of men can leave to its successors.

In estimating character, however, reference should always be had to the circumstances in which it was developed, and the influences by which it was surrounded. The principles of morality are fixed and unchangeable. But the admiration or censure which is bestowed upon individuals, is justly graduated to the scale of their own times, rather than to that of their censors. "According

to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not," is the governing maxim of an impartial and unerring Judge. They who stand forth, at the present moment, as "burning and shining lights," do so, perhaps, only because they are somewhat in advance of the prevalent virtue of the age, and not because they have attained to "the fulness of the stature of perfect men." Posterity, looking down from loftier vantage-ground, may lament their weakness, and marvel at the narrowness of their views, and their obliquities of faith and practice, even as we now do at those of the saints and the sages, the heroes and the martyrs of by-gone ages, of whom, notwithstanding, "the world was not worthy."

To such considerations as these, regard should always be had, in reviewing the characters of history. And, if they demand, in some cases, the mantle of charity for unexpected errors, they equally exact, in others, extraordinary awards of admiration for surprising merit, and for virtue that stands out in bold relief amid all surrounding degeneracy.

"No country in Europe," says Mr. Everett, "had retained more of the feudal divisions, than France, before the Revolution. A partition of the orders of society, but little less rigid than the Oriental economy of CASTES, was kept up. Causes which time would fail us to develop, had rendered the court and capital of France signally corrupt, during the last century. It is doubtful, whether, in a civilized state, the foundations of social morality were ever so totally subverted. It was by no means one of the least active causes of this corruption, that all connexion between the court and the capital, and the higher ranks in general, on the one hand, and the people on the other, was cut off by the constitution of society, and the hopeless depression, degradation, and ignorance of the mass of the people. Under these influences, a new gen-

eration was trained. They did not make, they found the corruption. They were reared in it. They grew up in the presence and under the patronage of a most dissolute court, surrounded by the atmosphere of an abandoned metropolis, without the constraint or the corrective of a wholesome public sentiment. The great monitors of society were hushed. The pulpit, not over-active, at that time, as a moral teacher in the catholic church in Europe, was struck dumb; for some of its highest dignitaries were stained with all the vices of the rest of their order, that of the nobility. The press was mute on everything which touched the vices of the time."

To this, let the all-pervading influence of the philosophy, "falsely so called," of Voltaire, be added, and a full appreciation may be had of the auspices under which the subject of the present memoir was ushered upon the stage of life. He was born at Chavagniac, in the province of Auvergne, on the 6th of September, 1757. Those who are curiously precise as to the locality, will need to be informed that Chavagniac, in the modern geography of France, is in the department of the Haute Loire, the canton of Paulhoquet, and the arrondissement of Brioude. It is three hundred and sixty miles from Paris. The mansion is large, romantically situated, and has an air of venerable antiquity much beyond its years, having been built only one hundred and fifty years ago, on the ruins of a more ancient one, which had been destroyed by fire. The estate attached to the chateau was once extensive and valuable; but, confiscated by the Jacobins of 1793, and sold in parcels, to meet the exigencies of those anarchists, a small portion only of the land was recovered by the family, on their return from exile, and that by purchase from the new occupants.

According to the prevailing custom in distinguished families in Europe, the noble infant received, at his bap-

tism, a list of names sufficient for an ordinary household. He was registered under the honorable appellation of Marie-Paul-Joseph-Roche-Yves-Gilbert de Mottier Marquis de Lafayette, a name which contains all the letters of the French alphabet except four. Gilbert de Mottier was the name by which he was usually distinguished from his predecessors; while, as the chief representative of the family, and the heir to its title and estates, the single patronymic Lafayette not only sufficiently designated his person, but answered all the purposes of law as a signature. By that honored name he will continue to be known, till the end of time, as the champion of freedom, and as the one in whose person and history were concentrated all the glory and renown of a house, which, though noble in itself, and distinguished for ages by its virtues, derived from him a new distinction, which it was not capable of conferring upon him.

His father, Michael-Louis-Christophe-Roche-Gilbert de Mottier Marquis de Lafayette, though he died at the early age of twenty-five, was an officer of considerable distinction in the army of Louis XV. He was a colonel of the grenadiers of France, and chevalier of the order of St. Louis, and was held in high esteem among the brave and gallant spirits of the day. He fell at Minden, in Germany, on the 13th of July, 1757, bravely fighting under the victorious standard of the duke de Broglie. The war in which this battle occurred is generally known as "the seven years' war," and was carried on, in Europe, by the great Frederic of Prussia, assisted by England, against the combined forces of Russia, Austria, and France, and in America by England and her colonies against France and her colonies—the latter terminating in the conquest of Canada, and the total extinction of the power of France in the western continent.

The mother of Lafayette was a daughter of the mar-

quis de Rivière, of the noble house of Lusignan. Her early widowhood seemed to extinguish all hope of again reviving the glory of the ancient house, of which her gallant lord had been the sole male representative; but in the birth of a son, about two months after, the broken line was restored. The early days of the orphan gave small promise of the glory of the long and eventful life that followed. Feeble in health, left to the sole guidance of an indulgent mother, and surrounded by servile attendants and the enervating influences of wealth, it was scarcely to be hoped that he would ever attain to more than the pigmy proportions of a mere titled aristocrat. To add to these inauspicious omens, and make the brilliant success of his after-career the more remarkable, his mother died when he was but thirteen years of age, leaving him in the full possession of large and valuable estates, and the absolute master of his own movements and destiny.

His early education had been conducted at home, under the eye of his mother. At twelve he was placed in the college du Plessis, at Paris, where his rank and wealth introduced him to all the gayeties and dissipations of fashionable society. What progress he made in his studies, at this time, does not appear. It is not probable, however, that he was able to do more than maintain a respectable standing among pupils of his own age. In his own brief reminiscences of this period, he alludes rather playfully to "some schoolboy successes, inspired by the love of glory, and somewhat disturbed by that of liberty." What these "successes" were, he does not inform us; but, from what is known of his character, so early matured and developed, his undisguised and fearless frankness, and the direct, practical, matter-of-fact logic which he was accustomed to employ, we find no difficulty in imagining the nature of

his literary triumphs. They were undoubtedly the triumphs of plain common sense over the heartless and artificial sentiments which characterized every department of society, but especially that of the capital and the court. Everything was expected to bend to a servile flattery of greatness. Even literature was not exempt from this unseemly sycophancy. Poetry and the fine arts were all made tributary to the pride of power, and the arrogance of station. It was taught in the nursery, as the highway to favor and promotion. It was inculcated in the schools, and enforced in the colleges. But in this species of learning the young Lafayette was no apt scholar. His perceptions of right never included a blind submission to authority; and it is easy to conjecture how often and ably he might have foiled, by the lucid enunciation of his inborn creed of liberty, the specious sophistries of the schools. It appears that he was more ambitious of what he regarded as true, than of the honors of the college; for he tells of one occasion on which he sacrificed his hopes of reward to his views of the teachings of nature. He was required to describe, in a rhetorical exercise, a perfect, well-trained courser, that would obey the look of his master or the shadow of the lash; instead of which, he indulged himself in a full and glowing description of one so restiff under restraint, that, at the very sight of the whip, he reared and plunged, and threw his rider to the ground—a lesson so apposite to the existing condition of France, as almost to deserve to be styled prophetic.

He was much noticed at the gay court of Louis the Grand, and became quite a favorite of that magnificent monarch. He was appointed one of the queen's pages; a station which, though coveted by the proud and noble of the kingdom, was little in accordance with the frank, independent bearing of the young Lafayette. He was

also enrolled in the king's regiment of musketeers, in which, through the direct agency of the queen, he received a commission, at the early age of fifteen. This was an honor which was reserved exclusively for the sons of the most distinguished and favored among the nobility, and conferred as a mark of especial royal regard.

Though of a disposition eminently social, and keenly alive to the pleasures and comforts of domestic life, Lafayette displayed an early predilection for military glory, and an uncommon maturity in all the essential requisites of military success. The main one for advancement, however, he did not possess; he would not court promotion. He could not "bow the pregnant hinges of the knee" to ask for a place, which was conferred as a matter of favoritism, not of merit. He had expectations of an appointment, worthy of his rank, in a regiment under the marshal de Noailles, his uncle — expectations based upon certain promises to that effect; but his uncourtier-like habits prevented him from enjoying that honor. He was averse, even in boyhood, to those puerilities of conversation which constitute so large a part of the intercourse of the gay circles of society. He had too much self-respect to be a flatterer; and when the matter of conversation did not accord with his views, he was uniformly silent and reserved. He did not rudely interpose his sentiments where they would be unwelcome; but, whenever he could not speak his own free thoughts frankly, without giving offence, he became a silent listener. These habits soon excited suspicion, and created enemies, and placed a mark against his name on the royal list.

This disappointment, if felt at all, was not seriously laid to heart. Other conquests than those of arms began very early to engross his thoughts. An attachment to one of the noblest and most amiable of women — an attach-

ment which grew deeper, and holier, and more absorbing, through every period of his eventful life, and which, surviving its object through a widowhood of nearly thirty years, went with him, undiminished, to his grave—was consummated by his marriage, at the very early age of sixteen, to Marie-Adrienne-Françoise de Noailles, daughter of the duke d'Ayen, who was two years younger than himself. Nothing more need be said—no higher or more just encomium can be uttered—than that she was in all respects worthy to be the wife of Lafayette, and the mother of his children. This connexion was not only founded in the deepest affection, on his part, but favored and promoted, on the part of the relatives, by those motives of policy by which so many noble families are linked together, and out of which so many ill-assorted and unhappy alliances spring. No sooner was it consummated, than interest was made at court, by his new relatives, to obtain for the young marquis a place in the civil establishment of the king. The post sought for was an honorary one in the household of the count de Provence, the second son of Louis XV., who afterward became Louis XVIII. This position was by no means desired by Lafayette, as it involved precisely that deference to the authority of a mere name, and that outward and heartless conformity to the etiquette of a court, which were most unpalatable to the republican simplicity of his heart. He was in danger, however, of having the honor “thrust upon him” by the officious interference of his friends. To prevent it, without offending them, by refusing to accept the station offered, he sought an opportunity to render himself so obnoxious to the prince, as to preclude the possibility of completing the arrangement. This opportunity offered itself at a masked ball, where the count de Provence appeared in a disguise, which was instantly

penetrated by the observing eye of Lafayette. Engaging him in conversation, he lost no time in broaching some of those views and opinions which he knew would be least acceptable to the ear of the prince, at the same time replying to his remarks with a freedom and boldness, which, if he had been unmasked, would have been deemed decidedly uncourteous. At length the prince, having taken some offence at his freedom, gave him to understand that he should remember it, and then proceeded to show that his memory was remarkably clear and tenacious; to which Lafayette coolly replied, that "memory was the wit of fools." This closed the conference of the masks, and satisfied the prince that the young marquis would be an unavailable *attaché*, if not a refractory subject. In speaking of this conversation afterward, Lafayette did not conceal the fact that he was at the time fully aware of the rank of the person with whom he was conversing. This, being reported to the prince, was deemed an unpardonable offence. It was never forgiven.

CHAPTER II.

NOBLE COMMENCEMENT OF A NOBLE CAREER.

THE long struggle of the American colonies with their unnatural step-mother excited but little interest in Europe, in its incipient stages. Even in France, the natural enemy of England, its causes and its progress were but little understood. It was not until the Rubicon was irrevocably passed, the gauntlet of open defiance thrown down, the Declaration of Independence signed, sworn to, and published to the world, that any portion of Europe became aware of the importance of that struggle, or of the numbers and strength of the people who claimed a place in the family of nations. The deep tones of that solemn and unanswerable declaration, borne on the breeze across the Atlantic, struck the ear of legitimacy like a distant knell. Monarchy and aristocracy quaked alike, and looked aghast at each other; and, except in the heart of a Lafayette, and of here and there a Polish refugee of rank and talent, it would have found no response in the high places of the old world, had not the long-cherished hostility of France against England seen in it a favorable opportunity to humble her rival, by assisting to wrench from her all-grasping sway, her most valuable colonial possessions. Even France came forward with slow and hesitating steps, to widen the breach. Had she known the real nature and tendency of the contest—had she understood the character of the Amer-



Interview with the Duke of Gloucester at Metz.—Page 19.

ican people, or foreseen the form of government which they would ultimately adopt—it is not probable that she could have been induced to come forward at all. Her king and his cabinet no doubt expected a western monarchy, or, at the worst, an aristocracy, and not a republic, whose history should be the text-book of revolution to all free spirits in all the empires of the world.

It was in the latter part of 1776, about two years after his marriage, and while his mind was yet agitated by negotiations to attach him to the person of the count de Provence, that Lafayette's attention was first drawn to the conflict of liberty with oppression in America. He was, at that time, an officer in the French army, and stationed on duty at Metz. The duke of Gloucester, brother to George III. of England, happening to pass that way, was complimented with a dinner by the commandant of the place. Lafayette was among the invited guests. A principal topic of conversation, at the table, was the progress of the rebellion in America; and the stringent measures adopted and contemplated by the crown of England to crush it. The duke had just received from London the latest advices, and was very free in his communications—more so probably than good diplomacy, in one so near the throne, would approve.

There was much in the details given which was new to Lafayette. They interested him intensely. He entered earnestly into the conversation, drawing out from the talkative duke, by apposite questions, such facts in the yet unwritten history, as were necessary to enable him to understand the whole merits of the case. He saw, at a glance, that it was the cause of justice, of liberty, of Heaven. Before he rose from that table, and while talking with the brother of the king of England, his purpose was formed—his resolution was taken. He

determined to offer himself on the altar of liberty—to abandon home, and proffer himself and his services to the people who were thus nobly struggling for freedom.

It is not the least singular, among the many remarkable incidents in the history of this great man's efforts to promote liberty in the world, and especially in America, that the first clear insight into the cause should have been given, the first impulse of chivalric fervor imparted to his soul, by one of the royal family of England, against whose house the rebellion was begun, and from whose crown it was destined to pluck away its brightest jewel.

From this time, the subject of freedom in the western world engrossed all his thoughts. It filled his imagination; it realized his utmost dream of ambitious enterprise and noble achievement. To use his own words, uttered years afterward, in a calm review of the conflict, "Such a glorious cause had never before attracted the attention of mankind. It was the last struggle of Liberty; and, had she then been vanquished, neither hope nor asylum would have remained for her. The oppressors and oppressed were to receive a powerful lesson. The great work was to be accomplished, or the rights of humanity were to fall beneath its ruins. The destiny of France and that of her rival were to be decided at the same moment. . . . When I first learned the subject of this quarrel, my heart espoused warmly the cause of liberty, and I thought of nothing but adding also the aid of my banner."

To resolve was to act. Full of his new project of glory, he returned to Paris, to make further inquiries, and prepare himself for the enterprise. With all the ardor and confidence of youth, he developed his views to his two intimate friends, Count Ségur, his uncle, and the viscount de Noailles, his brother-in-law, proposing that they should join him in seeking early laurels in this

cause of human liberty. With a kindred enthusiasm, they entered into his views, heartily desiring to accompany him in his voyage to America; but, being dependent on their parents, they were obliged first to solicit their consent. This was peremptorily refused, and the whole scheme denounced. Fortunately, in advocating their own wishes, they did not disclose the designs of their friend, who, being his own master, with an income of about forty thousand dollars at his disposal, was not to be deterred from the prosecution of his purpose.

The count de Broglie, to whom he next confided his intentions, did all in his power to discourage him. He represented the project as altogether hopeless and chimerical, invested on every side with danger, and without any prospects of advantage to justify the risk to be incurred. Personal advantage was not the end which the ardent young hero sought, or expected. Personal danger he utterly disregarded. It was the cause of liberty and right that lay near his heart. That he believed to be the cause of America; and for that he was ready to sacrifice all. Resolved to go, notwithstanding the urgency of his friend's protestations, and knowing that all possible obstacles would be thrown in his way, he requested the count not to betray his secret, but leave him to pursue his plans in his own way. The count assured him his confidence was not misplaced, while, with all the eloquence at his command, he urged and reiterated his arguments to dissuade him from indulging any farther his preposterous design. "I have seen your uncle die," he exclaimed, "in the wars of Italy; I witnessed your father's death at the battle of Minden; and how can I be accessory to the ruin of the last and only representative of the family!"

Finding his arguments and entreaties alike unavailing to divert his young friend from his noble and chivalrous

purpose, the count offered to introduce him to a German officer of some reputation and experience, who had espoused the same cause, and was then seeking an opportunity to consecrate himself to its service. This was the baron de Kalb, whose labors, and sacrifices, and death, are interwoven in the story of American independence. A common sympathy made them fast friends. The baron's counsels were of great value; while his agency as interpreter—for Lafayette was not yet familiar with the English language—was quite essential in the course of his subsequent negotiations with the American agents.

Anticipating the obstacles that would be thrown in his way by his family connections, he resolved to keep his own secret, and ask neither advice nor consent of any one. Satisfied of the sacredness of the cause and the purity of his motives, and depending only on his own judgment and resources, he proceeded to make all necessary preparations for an early departure. Adopting, as the motto on his arms, the simple but emphatic appeal, "*Cur non ?*" (why not ?), he seemed to challenge friend and foe alike, to present one reasonable objection to the career which he had chosen, and the line of conduct he had marked out for himself.

Silas Deane was then at Paris, as agent from the American Congress, soliciting aid, and endeavoring to procure arms for the prosecution of the war. To him Lafayette was introduced by the baron de Kalb. Being yet scarcely nineteen years of age, he could not boast of military experience, or promise much in the value of his counsels, or in the strength of his arm. But he claimed that his enlistment in the service would excite, as soon as his departure should be known in France, a wide-spread interest in its behalf, and be the means of inducing others to follow his example. Impressed with the noble

ardor of the youth, and discerning, at a glance, the rare qualities of his mind and heart, the American envoy gladly accepted his services, promising to procure him an early passage to America, and an honorable position in the continental army.

To secure the success of such arrangements as these, it was necessary that they should be conducted with the utmost secrecy. Had his plans been known to his family friends, to the government, or to any one of the numerous army of French and English spies in Paris, insurmountable obstacles would have been thrown in the way of his departure. The interests of England at the French court, at this time, were represented by Lord Stormont, who protested so earnestly against the designs and doings of the American agents, that the ministers were afraid to receive or acknowledge them. Not only so; they ordered all private arrangements, having a view to the shipment of arms, and the raising of recruits, to be suspended, and closed all their ports to American privateers.

The news of the disasters at Brooklyn, Long Island, White Plains, and Fort Washington, and the retreat across the Jerseys, with the rapid defection of large bodies of the people, reaching France at this moment, threw a shade of seemingly-hopeless gloom over the cause of America, and the enthusiasm of many who had begun to look upon it with interest; while the credit of her agents was at once destroyed. Lafayette, on the contrary, felt his zeal increase, and his determination strengthen, under the pressure of these unfavorable circumstances. He called at once upon Mr. Deane, and requested him to hasten his departure. The reply was, that the credit of his cause was so completely prostrated by the recent tidings, that it was impossible to procure

a vessel, or to offer him any sufficient encouragement to proceed in his generous purpose.

Nothing daunted by these representations, he modestly but nobly replied: "Hitherto I have only had opportunity to express in words my ardor for the cause of your country. The time has come to prove my sincerity. I shall purchase a ship myself, to carry out all who are willing to go. Let us feel confidence in the future. It is especially in the hour of danger that I would devote myself to your cause."

This generous proposal was accepted with the cordial frankness of one who knew well its value, and could appreciate the exalted spirit which dictated it. There were many difficulties in the way of its execution. Everything was to be done in the dark; the most perfect secrecy was to be maintained with respect to every movement; and, at the same time, the utmost despatch was necessary to render the aid thus proffered seasonable and effective.

Just at this juncture, Lafayette was under the necessity of fulfilling an engagement, previously entered into with his cousin, the prince de Poix, to pay a visit to England. He would gladly have avoided doing so, on account of the time it must consume; but fearing that his real design might be suspected, and his great secret disclosed, if he should suddenly change his purpose, he resolved to turn it to good account, by making his preparations for this short voyage a cover for those of the more important one, which engrossed all his thoughts.

On arriving in London, he displayed the earnestness of his zeal in the new cause, by paying his respects to Bancroft, the American, before being presented to his Britannic majesty. With a high sense of what was due from him as a man of honor, he declined all invitations to visit the seaports, or examine the vessels which

were fitting out for the war with the colonies, since this might be regarded as an abuse of confidence, when his intentions should become known. With characteristic frankness, he openly avowed his sentiments respecting the war, advocating the cause of the rebels, and strongly expressing his satisfaction in view of their signal and unexpected success at Trenton, the mortifying intelligence of which reached London during the time of his visit.

At the expiration of three weeks he returned to Paris. Though strongly urged to accompany his uncle to Versailles, where he might bask for a while in the sunshine of royalty, he suffered an apology to be made for him, and hastened to complete the arrangements for his voyage. These arrangements had been slowly and silently going forward during his absence. Arriving in Paris, he proceeded directly to the house of baron de Kalb. Without making his appearance in public, he saw privately a few of his friends, who were favorable to his project, and some of the Americans in Paris, and, after three days, set out for Bordeaux, whence he intended to embark. Here he was informed that his intended departure had, by some means, become known at court, and that orders were already issued to arrest it. Determined not to be outdone by a watchful police, he sailed to the neighboring port of Passage, in Spain, where he left his vessel, and returned immediately to Bordeaux. He then wrote to the ministers of the king at Versailles, openly declaring his purpose, and asking leave to prosecute it without molestation. He also disclosed his intentions to his family, and to some of his most intimate friends.

In these letters there was an air of freedom and defiance, which gave great offence. He reminded ministers that an officer in the king's Irish regiment had

been permitted to go over and join the British forces, and challenged them to show reason why other officers should not be allowed to join the Americans, equally an independent people, and contending for just principles. The privilege had already been granted to several persons, who had entered the American service, and could not, with any show of justice, be denied to him. As to his oath of allegiance, he observed that, when ministers should be faithful to their pledges to the people, they might, with better grace, talk about a violation of an oath to the government.

The answers to these despatches were anything but satisfactory. The letters from his family were violent and reproachful. Those from the government were peremptory, and accompanied with threats. Neither of these had any influence to divert him from his purpose. The grief and anxiety of his wife, whose delicate situation demanded all his sympathy, affected him most deeply; but he had gone too far; his heart was in the cause; he could not turn back.

Among the letters then received, was one requiring him to repair at once to Marseilles, and there await the further orders of his sovereign. Under pretence of obeying this order, he set off in a post-chaise, on the road to Marseilles, in company with an officer named Mauroy, who was also desirous to go to America. Having proceeded a few leagues in this direction, he assumed the disguise of a courier, and, taking the road to Bayonne, rode on before the carriage in the capacity of servant to Mauroy. Being necessarily detained at Bayonne a few hours, Lafayette acted well his part as servant, by throwing himself upon the straw in the stable, and dozing quietly, while his supposed master was arranging affairs for the prosecution of their journey. He had nearly escaped the danger of pursuit, when he was



Lafayette recognised by the Postman's Daughter.—Page 27.

unexpectedly recognised by the postman's daughter, at St. Jean de Luz, a small village on the border. She had seen him as he passed, on his return from Passage to Bordeaux. Perceiving that he was known, he made a sign that she should not expose him. She not only kept his secret, but adroitly turned away suspicion when his pursuers came up. In reply to their inquiries, she assured them that a carriage had passed that way, but that no such person was in it as they described. By this means he escaped all further annoyance. He rejoined his ship at Passage, on the 26th of April, 1777, and set sail on the same day for the theatre of his future glory. In his company was baron de Kalb, Mr. Mauroy, and ten other officers, of different ranks, to all of whom a free passage was given.

As soon as it was ascertained that the ardent young hero was gone, the court of France despatched orders to the colonies in the West Indies to arrest his progress. He had taken out papers for one of the French West India islands; for, even in Spain, it would not have been safe or prudent openly to avow his true destination. It was, moreover, the general custom, with both Spanish and French cruisers, to take this indirect course, partly with a view to making a double voyage, and partly through fear of the English ships-of-war, which were hovering on the coast of America. The captain of the *Victory* insisted upon taking this course; but Lafayette, anticipating the hazard of pursuit, required him to sail directly for an American port, threatening, in case of refusal, to give the command to the mate. The captain, deceived by the ostensible design of his employer, had taken on board, for his own account, a cargo assorted for the West Indies, and valued at eight thousand dollars. With the generosity so natural to him, Lafayette

agreed to indemnify him for any loss that might result from this change of destination.

The *Victory* was a heavy sailer. She was furnished with two inferior cannon, and a quantity of small-arms — an armament insufficient for a conflict with the lightest privateer. Notwithstanding this meager equipment, her brave company resolved to contest the right of way with any force that might appear to dispute it, and, in any event, not to suffer themselves to be taken. To avoid this latter alternative, Lafayette had concerted measures with Bidaulx, a brave Dutchman, who, having deserted his post in the royal army, had nothing to hope for, in case of capture, but an ignominious death, to blow up the ship, should there be a probability of its falling into the hands of their pursuers.

As soon as he had recovered from the first attack of sea-sickness, Lafayette applied himself with diligence to the study of the language of his new friends, and to such other matters as would qualify him to become useful on his arrival. They had nearly reached the American coast, when they descried a vessel, apparently in chase. The captain was alarmed ; but the crew, as well as the company of officers on board, were all united in making preparations for resistance. Their courage was not put to the test. The stranger proved to be an American privateer, returning from a cruise among the islands, and homeward bound. They made every effort to keep their ship in company with her ; but being a superior sailer, she soon left them behind. It was a fortunate parting. The following day the American vessel encountered two English frigates, and was made a prize. The slower Frenchman escaped.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA.

AFTER a tedious voyage of seven weeks, during which time they had encountered the usual variety of perils and discomforts, and narrowly escaped the dangers of pursuit and capture, they descried the coast of South Carolina, near Georgetown, at the mouth of Pedee river. It was late in the day when they made the land. Entering the mouth of the river, about dark, they went on shore in their boats. Attracted by a light, they approached the house of Major Benjamin Huger. The furious barking of the dogs promised them anything but a hospitable reception. Nor were the people within apparently more favorably disposed than their watchful sentinels without. Supposing the strangers to be a party of pillaging marauders, just landed from some British privateer — numbers of which were continually hovering on the coast — they kept their doors bolted and barred, and held a prudent parley, before they would consent to give them admittance. Baron de Kalb, who had been in America before, and was tolerably acquainted with the language, was obliged to act as interpreter. Having announced himself and his party, and explained the object of their visit to America, the doors were instantly thrown open, and a cordial welcome extended to the strangers. With the generous hospitality so universally characteristic of the southern gentleman, Lafayette and his band were

received into the family of Major Huger as friends and brothers, and every arrangement was made for their personal comfort.

The feeling of mingled triumph and hope which agitated the mind of Lafayette, in finding himself safe upon American soil, out of the reach of pursuit and molestation, and on the point of realizing his ardent desire to take part in the contest between freedom and oppression, in a field sufficiently wide to give ample scope to the combatants, and sufficiently noble to justify a struggle for its possession, can be better imagined than described. It partook of the ardent enthusiasm of youth, full of confidence and buoyant with expectation, and the firm and earnest resolve of mature manhood, when its entire being seems concentrated upon a point, and all its interests involved in a single cast of the die.

When the morning dawned, and he looked out for the first time upon an American landscape, he was enchanted with the beauty of the country, clothed with the luxuriant verdure of June, and smiling in the rosy light of an unclouded morning. Everything was new to him; but everything was beautiful. Transferred suddenly from a society where everything was artificial and heartless, and where rank and title everywhere had precedence of solid worth and virtue, to the bosom of a people who had just announced to the world, as the basis of their political creed, the doctrine of equal rights and universal liberty, he seemed to feel that he had begun his life anew, and that henceforth he was neither a nobleman nor a Frenchman, but a citizen of the world—a member of the great family of mankind. This feeling never left him. It grew with his years, and strengthened with his experience, and made him, in all the vicissitudes of an eventful life, the man of the age, rather than the man of a nation, a party, or a creed.

Among the children of Major Huger was an interesting boy, a fine, manly little fellow, who attracted the attention of the guests, and who, as he is destined to act a most heroic and romantic part in the sequel, deserves a passing notice here. Francis Kinloch Huger, first alarmed and then delighted, at the appearance of so many strangers, amused and puzzled with their foreign accent and broken language, was noticed by all, but especially by Lafayette. Sitting upon his knee, or walking with him over the grounds of the plantation, he entertained the noble visiter with his childish prattle, and with his intelligent questions respecting the distant land from which he came. With the enthusiasm of an observing child, he entered into his zeal for the cause of liberty, which was understood and discussed by the children of America with the boldness and freedom, if not with the intelligence, of their patriot parents. Thus the name of Lafayette became associated, in the earliest thoughts of the young Carolinian, with all that was good, and great, and noble. With the deepest veneration and affection, he treasured up all the incidents of his subsequent career. Once he risked liberty and life in his service, and, to the last, entertained toward him almost the reverence due to a superior order of beings.

Having entertained his honored guests with the hospitality of a patriarch, Major Huger provided horses to convey them to Charleston. The *Victory* was ordered to the same place, though in imminent danger of being captured by British cruisers. She arrived in safety, having encountered neither friend nor foe by the way. Finding several vessels, both French and American, about to depart for Europe, Lafayette employed the first moments of his short stay in Charleston in writing to his friends at home. The following extracts from his letters of this period, will serve to complete the narra-

tive and illustrate the feelings of the youthful adventurer.

Under date of June 7th, one week before his arrival, he thus expressed his enthusiastic and almost prophetic desires for the cause in which he was about to engage: "While defending the liberty I adore, I shall enjoy perfect freedom myself. I but offer my service to that interesting republic from motives of the purest kind, unmixed with ambition or private views. Her happiness and my glory are my only incentives. I hope that, for my sake, you will become a good American; for that feeling is worthy of every noble heart. The happiness of America is intimately connected with the happiness of all mankind. *She will become the safe and respected asylum of virtue, integrity, toleration, equality, and tranquil happiness.*" On the 15th, after announcing his arrival at Major Huger's, he added: "The manners in this part of the world are simple, polite, and worthy in every respect of the country in which the noble name of liberty is constantly repeated."

Writing from Charleston, on the 19th, he says: "The country and its inhabitants are as agreeable as my enthusiasm had led me to imagine. Simplicity of manner, kindness of heart, love of country and of liberty, and a delightful state of equality, are met with universally. The richest and the poorest men are completely on a level."

Leaving Charleston, where he had received every attention becoming his rank and his disinterested devotion to liberty, Lafayette had before him a journey of about nine hundred miles to Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session. The facilities for travelling were far inferior to those which we now enjoy. The roads were anything but easy, and travellers were in some peril, owing to the unsettled state of the country, and the differences of opinion, in relation to the contest, which prevailed

among the people. This journey was made on horseback ; a light carriage, which was purchased at Charleston to relieve the tediousness of the way, having soon fallen a sacrifice to the roughness of the roads. Alluding playfully to this circumstance in a letter from Petersburg, he says : " You know that I set out in a brilliant manner in a carriage. I must now tell you that we are all on horseback, having broken the carriage according to my usual praiseworthy custom, and I hope soon to write to you that we have arrived on foot."

The Victory was despatched, with letters, and a cargo of rice, for France. But, having fulfilled her destiny, she was wrecked on the bar, at the entrance of Charleston harbor, and the vessel and cargo became a total loss.

The journey to Philadelphia occupied a month ; the extreme heat of the weather, and the badness of the roads, combining to make his progress slow and tedious. It was made interesting, however, as well by observations on the face of the country, and the character and habits of the people, as by the object for which it was undertaken. At every resting-place, the leisure moments of Lafayette were employed in writing to his wife and to his friends in France. These letters are replete with sentiments of the purest affection for his family and friends and the country he had left behind, and the noblest and most disinterested enthusiasm for that which he had now adopted.

It was an interesting crisis in American affairs when Lafayette arrived to take part in the struggle. The masterly stroke by which, with the broken remnants of a thrice-vanquished and retreating army, Washington had turned upon his victorious pursuers, and driven them, with great loss, out of the Jerseys, had convinced the British commander that the "rebels" were not easily beaten, and that more vigorous measures must be adopt-

ed to recover the royal possessions in America. The plan of the campaign was to put on so formidable a front as to crush at once all hope of successful resistance. For this purpose, an army of ten thousand men was collected in Canada, to operate, by way of Lake Champlain, against the norther frontier, and, if possible, separate New England from the more southern colonies. Preceded by proclamations, addressed alike to the fears of the timid and to the lingering hopes of the loyal, and accompanied by bands of mercenary savages, more dreaded because more ignorant and fierce, than De Heister's Hessians, Burgoyne descended the lake, and taking possession of the too easily abandoned fortress at Ticonderoga, struck a heavier and more effective blow than had yet distinguished the British arms in America. With this formidable danger on the north, and the brothers Howe concentrating a force of nearly twenty thousand men in New York for some secret expedition, Washington was utterly at a loss as to how he should dispose his comparatively feeble force to properly meet and resist the movements of the enemy. New York, Rhode Island, and the lakes, were now in the hands of that enemy. Every point was threatened at the same time. To guard the fortresses in the highlands of the North river, and prevent the junction of Sir Henry Clinton with Burgoyne, Putnam was strongly reinforced at Peekskill, and the main army placed in a commanding position on the other side of the river. To meet an apparent demonstration toward Philadelphia, the main army traversed the Jerseys to the Delaware, and the reinforcements ordered to the highlands were withdrawn to the western bank of the river, to be in instant readiness for a movement northward or southward, as the exigencies of the different posts might require.

At length, the British fleet was reported in the Delaware, and the real design of General Howe was fully

disclosed. On receiving this information, Washington crossed the Delaware, and encamped with eleven thousand men at Germantown, about ten miles from Philadelphia.

It was at this critical juncture that Lafayette, with his retinue, arrived at Philadelphia. He immediately placed his letters in the hands of Mr. Lovell, chairman of the committee of foreign affairs. Calling the next day for an interview with him, a sudden shade was thrown over his high-raised hopes and expectations. The American Congress had been overwhelmed with applications from foreigners, who, for the most part, with the most extravagant pretensions, exhibited no good title to confidence or regard. Many of them, without name, without talent, without any other purpose than an undefined ambition for military distinction, were mere quixotic adventurers, who, for the paltry glory of a name, would as soon have espoused one side as the other; while others would perhaps have betrayed them both for the distinction of an epaulette, a purse of gold, or a mess of potage. The motives and characters of such as these were soon understood by the shrewd men to whom the interests of American freedom were then intrusted. Their claims were rejected at once. Some of them lowered their tone, and accepted stations far more humble than were at first demanded. Others, disappointed and chagrined, returned to Europe, to seek service in some other field of war, perfectly indifferent whether they found it in the ranks of freedom or in those of its enemies.

So numerous had these applications been, during the past season, that Congress began to look with suspicion upon all foreigners, and to lay their claims upon the table, with scarcely the ceremony of a reception. Mr. Lovell explained these circumstances to Lafayette, and assured him there was little hope that the agreement of

Mr. Deane, which promised him the rank of major-general, would be ratified by Congress. Satisfied that his papers had not been examined, he requested Mr. Lovell to return to Congress and renew his application for admission to the service, accompanied with the following brief and emphatic note: "After the sacrifices I have made, I have a right to exact two favors: one is, to serve at my own expense; the other is, to serve, at first, as a volunteer." These terms, so unlike the tone of extravagant demand to which they had been accustomed, and presenting few obstacles on the ground of an interference with the just expectations of American officers, were immediately accepted. The resolution of Congress, conferring on him the nominal rank of major-general, without assigning him any definite command, was passed on the 31st of July, and is in these words: "Seeing that the marquis de Lafayette, on account of his great zeal in the cause of liberty in which the United States are engaged, has quitted his family and country, and has come to offer his services to the United States, without demanding either pay or private indemnity, and that he desires to expose his life in our cause — *Resolved*, That his services be accepted, and that, on account of his zeal, his illustrious family and connections, he shall have the rank and commission of major-general in the army of the United States." At the date of this resolution, which conferred upon him the highest rank known in the American army, the young hero was within five weeks of completing the twentieth year of his age.

With several of the officers who had accompanied him from France, in the hope of obtaining honorable employment in America, Lafayette was wholly unacquainted until he met them on board the *Victory*. But he felt a friendly interest in them all, and, with his characteristic generosity, deeming himself in some measure instrumen-

tal in leading them across the Atlantic, he liberally indemnified from his own purse those whose services were not accepted.

Washington was now daily expected at Philadelphia, and Lafayette anxiously awaited his arrival. Their first meeting was at a dinner-party, where several members of Congress were present, who communicated to the commander-in-chief the circumstances under which the new commission had been issued. Washington was most favorably impressed with the modest appearance and disinterested zeal of the young volunteer. On rising from the table, he drew Lafayette aside, and entered into a free and paternal conversation with him. He complimented him upon his zeal and his sacrifices in the cause of human liberty, and invited him to consider the headquarters of the army as his home, playfully adding that he could not promise him the luxuries of a court, or the conveniences of a domestic establishment, but that, having sacrificed so much to become an American soldier, he was no doubt prepared cheerfully to submit to the customs and privations of a republican camp.

From this time, a friendship of the most intimate and enduring character existed between these truly great men — a friendship based upon a fundamental similarity of tastes, habits, and opinions, and cemented by the sincerest esteem and affection.

Having accompanied the general in a visit of examination to the fortifications in and about Philadelphia, Lafayette proceeded with him to the camp. On the day of his arrival the troops were reviewed by the general in person. To a French officer, accustomed only to the well-appointed camps, and disciplined armies, of the Old World, that army must have presented a singular spectacle. Poorly clad, in clothes of every form and hue, miserably armed, and almost entirely unskilled in the

most common military tactics, it might have provoked a smile from one less versed than he in the art of war. To him, however, who looked rather to the cause in which they were enlisted, than to mere outward trappings, it was the noblest army that was ever arrayed in camp or field. There was fire in their eyes, and spirit and independence in their movements, which, proving them alike incorruptible and invincible, threw all the outward pomp and circumstance of military parade and equipment quite into the shade. When Washington expressed to Lafayette the embarrassment he must necessarily feel in exhibiting such an army before a European officer like himself, he modestly replied, "I have come here to learn, and not to teach."

When the British fleet entered the Chesapeake, Washington removed his camp to Wilmington. In making this movement he marched his entire army through the streets of Philadelphia, which were gayly dressed for the occasion with leaves and flowers, where, accompanied by the stirring music of drum and fife, they received the cheering acclamations of the citizens. Lafayette was at his side during this march. He also shared the danger to which he imprudently subjected himself, when, a few nights after, having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and being overtaken by a storm on his return, he took shelter in a farmhouse so perilously near to the enemy's lines as to expose himself and his party to the imminent hazard of a surprise.

* Hitherto, Washington had pursued the prudent, unambitious policy of annoying the enemy by occasional skirmishes, without risking a general engagement. The voice of the people and of Congress now demanded a battle, and preparations were made to meet that demand. The British had landed a little below the head of the Elk, which is formed by the union of two small creeks

at Elkton. It is about half way between the Susquehannah and the Delaware, and thirteen miles from its junction with the Chesapeake. The Americans were posted on the northern bank of Red Clay creek, a few miles below Wilmington, their pickets, under General Maxwell, being advanced to Christiana bridge, which was nearly one third of the distance between them and the enemy's position. During the time occupied in landing, there was constant skirmishing between light parties of the opposing armies, in which the Americans gained some advantage. The movements of General Howe indicating an intention to outflank the American right, Washington retired across the Brandywine, posting his centre on the high ground near Chad's Ford, two miles south of Dilworth. His right wing, commanded by Sullivan, had charge of the fords above and at the forks of the river. The left wing, under Armstrong, extended down toward Wilmington. In this position, in pursuance of the advice of Congress, a stand was made, with a view to bring on a general engagement.

One division of the British army, under General Knypshausen, advanced in a direct line toward Chad's Ford, with no other design than to divert the attention of the American commander; while the other division, under Lord Cornwallis, accompanied by General Howe, proceeded along the Lancaster road, making a circuit of seventeen miles, and crossing the Brandywine above the forks, attacked the right wing in the rear. Finding that this was to be the field of danger for that day, Lafayette, who had remained near the person of Washington, asked leave to volunteer his services to General Sullivan. His request was cheerfully granted, and he galloped away to the scene of action. His arrival infused new spirit into the troops, who were hardly bested, and destined to a severe engagement with a far superior force. Cornwallis advanced in

fine order, with a heavy fire of both artillery and musketry. The two wings were soon put to flight. The centre, commanded by Lord Stirling, maintained its ground nobly for a considerable time. One regiment, under Conway, was particularly distinguished for its good conduct. Lafayette was with this division, and rendered essential service in rallying the troops and preserving order on their retreat. He had dismounted, on his arrival, and joined the ranks on foot, where he exhibited a conspicuous example of coolness and courage which would have done honor to a veteran. In the heat of the engagement, and at the very moment when the central division, overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy, broke and gave way, Lafayette received a ball in his leg, but paid no attention to it till the blood was noticed running over his boot-top. By the assistance of Gimat, his aide-de-camp, he mounted his horse, and continued his exertions till Greene came up with reinforcements. Compelled by loss of blood to stop and have his wound bandaged, he was exposed to imminent danger of being captured by the advancing foe.

The presence of Greene could not turn the retreat; but he covered it with signal ability, checking the pursuit of the enemy, and sustaining a warm engagement till dark. It was not until he arrived at Chester, a distance of twelve miles from the scene of action, with the slow pace of a retreating army, in which he was active and useful to the last, that Lafayette was able to have his wound attended to. It was then found to be sufficiently serious to require a considerable period of repose; having, no doubt, been not a little aggravated by the exertions and exposures of a hazardous retreat. He was first conveyed to Philadelphia; and immediately afterward, when Congress abandoned that city for a more secure position at Lancaster, he was placed in the

care of the good Moravians at Bethlehem. In their hospitable and peaceful retreat, where he was confined to his bed about six weeks, he received the kind attention and good nursing which his case required. But to his youthful and ardent spirit, inactivity was as hard to bear as physical pain. He longed to be abroad in the field, and to witness the progress of those events, on the issue of which he had staked his all. The peace-loving Moravians endeavored in vain to convince him of the folly and sinfulness of the profession he had adopted, and the perfect propriety and practicability of the pacific principle. He listened with deference to their homilies against war, while, at the same time, he amused himself with projects which should strengthen the cause of liberty in the new world, and kindle afresh the contentions with tyrants in the old.

Unable to wield the sword, he took up his pen, and corresponded with singular diligence and ability, not only with his family and friends, but with such persons of distinction, in both France and the French colonies, as he supposed might exert a favorable influence in the American cause. To M^{de} Bouillé, governor of Martinique, he proposed an enterprise, to weaken the power of the common enemy, by an attack upon the English islands, under American colors. That general approved the project, but, on laying it before the minister, was not permitted to prosecute it. He also wrote to the count de Maurepas, proposing to conduct an expedition against the English factories in the Indian ocean, to be manned in part by Americans, and carried on under the American flag. Subsequent events left no doubt on his mind that this latter expedition would have been attended with complete success, depriving Great Britain of the most important of her colonial possessions in the East; but, as Lafayette was

in disgrace at Versailles, his unceremonious departure not having been forgiven, no official answer was ever made to this suggestion. Count de Maurepas spoke publicly in praise of it, and ever after showed a decided partiality for the brave heart and sagacious mind in which it originated. In remarking upon the warmth of his zeal in the service of liberty, the old minister is reported to have said: "He will end, one day, by unfurnishing the palace of Versailles to serve the American cause; for when he has once taken anything into his head, it is impossible to resist him."

CHAPTER IV.

GALLANT SERVICES REWARDED—LAFAYETTE COMMAND-
ER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NORTHERN ARMY.

DURING the temporary retirement of Lafayette, the British general had entrenched himself at Philadelphia; and Washington, with the hope of dislodging him, had conducted a well-fought but unsuccessful attack upon his advanced post at Germantown. This was on the 4th of October. The report of the action, and the new hopes it inspired, made the young volunteer more impatient than ever to be in the field. He was not then allowed to leave his bed; but early in November, though still unable to wear a boot, he was so far recovered as to be able to return to the camp. Headquarters were then established at Whitemarsh, fourteen miles west of Philadelphia. General Greene being ordered into New Jersey, to watch and harass the movements of Lord Cornwallis, Lafayette accompanied him as a volunteer. Taking command of a detachment of three hundred and fifty men, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position, he led them from Mount Holly to Gloucester point, a few miles below Philadelphia, on the opposite side of the river, where he overtook the retiring foe. They had collected considerable booty, which they were engaged in conveying across the river. To inform himself more perfectly of their position, the young general advanced, in person, upon a narrow strip of land

called Sandy point, which projected far into the river. Here he was wholly exposed to the direct fire of the British, to which he would doubtless have fallen a victim, if they had not relied with so much confidence upon their ability to cut off his retreat and take him alive, as to neglect the use of their arms till he was quite out of their reach. His guides were in the greatest alarm. The pursuit was extremely warm; but, by his coolness and activity, he succeeded in evading the one and quieting the other.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, he fell in with a regiment of Hessians, nearly four hundred in number, who were posted about two miles in advance of the British camp. Though his force was inferior in numbers, and without artillery, he immediately assaulted the place, and compelled the Hessians to give way. The firing being heard at the camp, Cornwallis came up with his grenadiers; but, owing to the nature of the ground and the skilful disposition of the American party, he was deceived as to the number of his antagonists. Supposing himself engaged with the entire corps of General Greene, which was equal to his own, he suffered himself to be driven back to the neighborhood of Gloucester, where he intended to make a stand. In this skirmish the British lost about sixty men. A message had been despatched to Greene, to inform him of the conflict. He set forward immediately, and arrived on the ground late at night. The combat having been suspended, he did not deem it prudent to renew it. In the morning Lord Cornwallis crossed the river, without risking another engagement, and Greene, with his force, rejoined the main army at Whitemarsh.

The good management and success of Lafayette, in this affair, was highly gratifying to the army and to Congress. His personal popularity was great, wherever he was known. His devotion to their cause—his cool, in-

trepid bravery in action—his modest deportment, unassuming manners, and easy acquiescence in the plain habits, plain fare, and unusual hardships of the republican camp—had won for him a high place in the confidence, esteem, and affection, of all classes. It was, therefore, with general satisfaction that Congress embraced this opportunity to assign him a command in accordance with his rank.

On the 26th of November, immediately after the affair at Gloucester, Washington urged the matter upon the attention of Congress, in a letter commending, in strong terms, his prudence and good conduct. A resolution was accordingly passed, on the 1st of December, 1777, declaring that “it would be extremely agreeable to the Congress of the United States to see the marquis de Lafayette at the head of a division.” Three days afterward it was proclaimed, in public orders, that he was to take command of the division recently under General Stephen, who had been dismissed from the army. This division was composed chiefly of the Virginia regiments of militia.

On the 5th of December, General Howe, having been reinforced by several regiments from New York, took post at Chesnut hill, scarcely more than three miles from Whitemarsh. His force consisted of twelve thousand men. Washington, with his accustomed prudence, though not averse to an engagement, resolved to act on the defensive, upon the ground he had chosen. But Howe, not inclined to venture upon an attack, after wasting three days in a variety of manœuvres, in the vain hope of gaining some advantage, suddenly returned to Philadelphia, having lost, in different skirmishes, more than a hundred men.

Meanwhile, the American force in Pennsylvania had been considerably strengthened by detachments from the

army at the north, the surrender of Burgoyne rendering the longer continuance of the troops in that quarter unnecessary. But as companies and regiments, whose terms of enlistment had expired, were continually returning to their homes, the whole number, under the immediate command of Washington, seldom exceeded ten thousand men. With a well-organized, regular army, he could at any time have driven the British from the field.

About the middle of December, with his little handful of men, wretchedly clad, and wretchedly provided in all respects, Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. An encampment so unique, so destitute of everything that could make it attractive, comfortable, or even tolerable, our European allies had never seen nor imagined. It filled them with surprise and admiration. Lafayette, who partook of its hardships, remarked that "the patient endurance of both soldiers and officers was a miracle which each moment served to renew." With a devotion to the American cause as deep as it was singular, he encouraged the endurance of others by submitting cheerfully and voluntarily to every privation, and remaining constantly on duty in camp. He wished to be even more simple, frugal, and austere, than the Americans themselves, and refused nothing in the way of self-denial or fatigue, which his duty as an officer rendered practicable.

At this epoch, General Lafayette was called upon to take a very conspicuous place in the army, under circumstances which exhibited in the strongest light, not only his sincere attachment to Washington, and his true fidelity to the American cause, but that sterling virtue and incorruptible integrity of character, which made him, through his whole life, one of the most noble and consistent of men. An intrigue was in progress, to undermine the influence and destroy the power of the com-

mander-in-chief. General Gates was at the head of it, though it has received the designation of "Conway's cabal." Gates, Mifflin, and Conway, were the conspirators; and, aided by the *éclat* which attached to the name of the former, in consequence of his success at Saratoga, he had gained the ear of several members of Congress. Even in that honorable body, on whose deliberations and decisions were suspended, not only the fate of the nation, but that of Liberty herself for centuries to come, there were not a few of those shortsighted, shallow reasoners, who estimate talent by success, and virtue by the noisy pretensions of those who lay exclusive claim to it.

The evident design of the cabal was to displace General Washington, and raise General Gates to the supreme command. The better to effect this, it was deemed necessary to detach Lafayette from his interest, and, if possible, draw him into the conspiracy. With this view, an expedition against Canada was projected, to be ordered by Congress, and carried on by a distinct army, under a commander who should be in no way responsible to Washington. Gates, as chairman of the board of war, was the author of this scheme. It was adopted, by the aid of his friends and supporters in Congress, without consulting Washington in reference to any of its details. He was only informed of its nature and design, when, in the latter part of January, 1778, he received a letter from General Gates, enclosing another to Lafayette, informing him that he was appointed to the command of the expedition.

Washington placed the commission in the hands of his friend, without allowing himself to make a single remark. Lafayette, on perusing the paper, immediately penetrated the designs of its projectors, and declared to three commissioners of Congress, who chanced to be in the camp at that moment, that he would never accept any

command independent of his general, and that the title of aide-de-camp appeared to him preferable to any other that could be offered to him. His first impulse was to decline the appointment altogether. It was at best an unpromising scheme; and so it appeared to him at first view. It contemplated the raising of an army of two or three thousand men, to rendezvous at Albany, proceed across Lake Champlain on the ice, burn the enemy's shipping at St. John's, press onward to Montreal, and accomplish such other enterprises as circumstances might suggest and permit.

General Washington at once advised the acceptance of the command, expressing his satisfaction that it was offered to him rather than to any other person, and adding that so high a testimony of the confidence of Congress would be honorable to him in the eyes of the world, while his own prudence would be a sufficient guaranty to his reputation, in whatever manner the expedition might terminate.

Thus advised by the man in whom he most confided, Lafayette signified his acceptance of the honorable charge on condition of remaining subordinate to General Washington, of being considered but as an officer detached from his command, and of addressing all official letters to him, the duplicates of which should be sent to Congress. These stipulations being assented to, he hastened to York, about eighty miles west of Philadelphia, where Congress was then assembled, to confer with the board of war. They had directed him to proceed at once to Albany, and there await his further instructions, hoping thus to intoxicate him with a sense of his own importance, and at the same time remove him from the influence of the counsels of his commander. But he insisted upon receiving circumstantial orders before his departure, with a full statement of the means to be employed,

and the prospects of ultimate success. He also demanded an additional number of general officers, among whom he nominated his old friend the baron de Kalb, who, being senior in rank, would take precedence of Conway, and thus defeat all the hopes based upon his superior influence.

At the house of General Gates, where all these matters were discussed at the dinner-table, Mifflin and Conway being present, with others interested in promoting the enterprise, the youthful general threw off all disguise in relation to his own sentiments and preferences, by observing, as they were about to separate, that there was one toast which they had not drunk, which could not, without violence to his feelings, be omitted. The glasses being filled, he gave — “The commander-in-chief of the American armies.” It was received with manifest coldness, but, in deference to him who proposed it, was drunk with the usual ceremony of respect.

This frank and manly avowal of his sentiments, and the decided conditions by which he cut off all hope of being made the mere tool of a faction, to promote their own elevation by the destruction of all above them, deprived the enterprise of all its most promising features, and led to its ultimate abandonment. Its projectors had not the hardihood, however, to give it up without some show of effort, which served only to divide and distract the American forces, and consume a large amount of “the sinews of war,” the furnishing of which imposed such a heavy burden upon the country.

General Lafayette entered upon the execution of this new trust, with full confidence that he should be able to render important service to the country, if all the promised means were faithfully and promptly afforded him; but, at the same time, with a strong conviction that the whole would fail for want of those means. In his in-

structions from the war-office, it was stipulated that twenty-five hundred men should be assembled at Albany, to be joined by a large corps of New-England militia, under command of the brave and talented General Stark, whose grand achievement at Bennington, the previous year, had furnished the key to all our successes at the north. He was also to be supplied with two millions of paper-money, a considerable quantity of specie, and all the necessary facilities for conveying his army across Lake Champlain on the ice.

Early in February, 1778, the commander-in-chief of the northern army, being then some seven months less than twenty-one years of age, commenced his long and dreary journey to Albany. He could only travel on horseback, and the distance was more than three hundred miles. Dismissing his guide at Hemingtown, he wrote a hasty note to Washington, in which he says, "I go on slowly, sometimes drenched with rain, sometimes covered with snow, and not entertaining many handsome thoughts about the projected incursion into Canada. If successes were to be had, it would surprise me in the most agreeable manner, for the reason that I do not expect any brilliant ones. Lake Champlain is too cold to produce one sprig of laurel; and, if I am not starved, I shall be as proud as if I had gained three battles."

On the 17th, he arrived at Albany. The boasted preparations had scarcely commenced. Instead of twenty-five hundred men, but little more than a thousand were collected, and these poorly provided for such an expedition. General Stark, who, as Gates boastfully predicted, would have burnt the English flotilla at St. John's before the main army could arrive there, had not even been notified that his services would be required. Generals Schuyler, Lincoln, and Arnold, had each sent in their written opinions, condemning the whole enterprise, in

the most emphatic manner, as altogether impracticable and preposterous. This was the universal sentiment of the north. Clothing, provisions, military stores, sledges for transportation, were all unprovided. The men who were there were not half furnished even for a summer campaign, besides having arrears of pay due them amounting to nearly a million of dollars, the want of which was already producing a serious disaffection in the ranks.

Encompassed with these difficulties, and deeply chagrined at the aspect of the enterprise, he wrote to Washington, as to a father, expressing the fear that his reputation would suffer from having his name connected with so ill-judged and ill-planned an expedition, and suggesting the possibility of turning to good account such preparations as had already been made, by a sudden diversion to another quarter. Arnold favored an attack upon New York, but was too sick to accompany it. Lafayette desired anything which might save his command from the disgrace of a total failure.

The projected invasion of Canada, though deemed impracticable from the beginning, was not wholly abandoned by its adventurous commander until the breaking up of the ice in March. Disappointed of the promised reinforcements, he conceived the bold idea of attempting to accomplish by surprise, with a detachment, the enterprise which he had not means to prosecute in any other way. It was but a momentary thought, however, which mature deliberation pronounced rash and impossible. Carleton was too strongly posted to fear anything but a well-appointed army, and Lafayette, though ardent and fearless, was too prudent to risk anything for the love of adventure merely.

As he concealed from every one but Washington his doubts and disgusts, and employed every means in his power to forward the expedition, even borrowing money

on his personal credit, to satisfy the demands of the soldiers, it became at length a cause of serious alarm at Georgetown, where Congress was at that time assembled, lest he should push forward to the lake, and attempt the passage when it was too late to do so with safety. Orders were therefore issued, countermanding his original instructions, and recalling him to his former position in the main army, where, it was flatteringly said, his presence was highly necessary. He had already, before the arrival of these orders, renounced the expedition. But, consistently with the position he assumed in accepting his command, he would not lay it down, though recalled by Congress, till he received the orders of the commander-in-chief. "Till I have instructions for leaving the place from yourself," he wrote, "I shall stay, as powerful commander-in-chief, as if Congress had never resolved my presence absolutely necessary for the great army."

During his brief residence at Albany, Lafayette had won the affection and confidence of all classes, and rendered some actual service to the cause in which he was engaged. The whole northern frontier was exposed to the merciless irruptions of the Indian tribes; especially the Hurons and the Iroquois, who, being in the pay of the British, seized every occasion to plunder and harass the American settlements, often committing the greatest barbarities upon defenceless women and children. Finding that he must abandon his expedition to Canada, and conscious that he could not hope for means adequate to the protection of every part of so extensive a frontier, Lafayette resolved at least to do what he could. He directed that quarters for the accommodation of troops should be erected in many different places along the line, causing it to be announced as widely as possible, that garrisons would immediately be established in them



all. This stratagem made the Indians more cautious in their advances, it being an important part of their system of tactics to avoid danger whenever they can.

The principal tribes in that quarter having been invited to a conference with the American commissioners, Schuyler and Duane, at Johnstown, on the Mohawk, General Lafayette was requested to attend the meeting. The attachment of these tribes to the French had survived their loss of dominion in Canada; and though always ready, for British gold, to fight against Americans, they would probably at any time have preferred to return to their ancient allegiance. The French missionaries were still their instructors and religious guides. With the French language they were more familiar than with the English; and when the young French chief addressed them, they listened with unusual attention. They received his presents with marked satisfaction, and promised, for his sake, to abstain from further acts of hostility against his friends the Americans. They even adopted him as one of their own chiefs, giving him the name of Kayoula, by which one of their deceased warriors had been distinguished. The treaty thus entered into was for some time rigidly observed by a portion of the Indians, and, so far, had a happy effect in relieving the frontier; and, if the American purse had been as amply provided as the British, they would doubtless have been able, by the aid of their French allies, to avert altogether the atrocities of those ruthless marauders.

The effect of this visit was felt for a considerable time after. Whenever the aid of the Indians was required for any purpose, or any dealings with their chiefs became necessary, recourse was had to the name and credit of Kayoula, "whose *necklaces* and *words* were equally respected."

In retiring from this honorable command in the north,

General Lafayette had the satisfaction, not only of having secured the approbation and increased the confidence of Washington, by the manner in which he had conducted, but also of receiving from Congress and the board of war a vote of thanks for his good conduct. The resolution of Congress, on this occasion, declared that that honorable body “entertained a high sense of the prudence, activity, and zeal, of General Lafayette, and that they are fully persuaded that nothing has, or would have been, wanting on his part, or on the part of his officers who accompanied him, to give the expedition the utmost possible effect.” He had, however, a higher satisfaction within, than any such testimonials as these could afford—the satisfaction of having been permitted to contribute his share in “turning into foolishness the counsels” of an unprincipled faction, who were aiming to aggrandize themselves by immolating, on the altar of their ambition, the only man who was able to guide, through all the storms that assailed it, the cause of liberty and of man.

CHAPTER V.

THE FRENCH ALLIANCE — BARREN-HILL RETREAT — BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE returned to the camp, at Valley Forge, in season to witness something more of the privations and hardships which the army had endured through that terrible winter. These were sufficiently severe at its commencement, before he departed for the north; but they had increased in severity as the months passed on. Soon after his arrival, he was called upon to render a service of peculiar delicacy and importance to the army. An oath of allegiance had been prescribed by Congress, to be administered to all the officers in its service. It embraced an acknowledgment of the independence, liberty, and sovereignty, of the United States, an eternal renunciation of George III., his successors and heirs, and every king of England, and a promise to defend the states against any and all attempts of said George III. to reduce them again to his dominion. There were still many men in the army, as well as many private citizens, who had not fully made up their minds that the breach between the mother-country and her colonies could not, by suitable concessions on the part of England, be healed. Some, who would by no means submit to the exactions of the past, which they regarded rather as ministerial follies than royal encroachments, were not prepared to renounce for ever their allegiance

to the crown. They were consequently reluctant to take the oath. When it was proposed to General Lee; he met it with the peculiar objection, that, though he had no scruples about renouncing for ever his allegiance to the king, he was not prepared to do the same with respect to the prince of Wales.

The difficulty arising out of this matter was soon overcome by the delicate and judicious management of Lafayette, whose popularity and influence were universal, and whose good offices, in relation to this particular object, were duly acknowledged by the commander-in-chief and by Congress.

But America was indebted to this ardent and devoted friend, or rather to a kind Providence through him, for another and higher influence, on which the question of her destiny seemed to turn. Though he left France against the express interdict of the king, pursued by the police to the very shore, and by the royal cruisers across the ocean, yet the act of leaving, under such circumstances, had the effect, ultimately, to win over to the same cause the whole power and chivalry of France. Though denounced by the ministry and the court, as one who had disobeyed the express orders of his king, his conduct was heartily approved by the greater part of the brave cavaliers of the land. So enthusiastic was their admiration of the course he had taken, that it would not have been politic, or even safe, for the king to exercise his prerogative of punishment, by declaring the offender an outlaw and confiscating his property to the state.

France was, and for ages had been, the natural enemy of England, and, by consequence, the natural ally of any power that was opposed to England. The entire success of the American states would, at any time, have electrified with joy the court and the people of France. They wished to see their rival humbled, and would even

submit to considerable sacrifices to promote that object; but at this particular crisis, when the nation was groaning under the weight of accumulated burdens, they were afraid of the expense of involving themselves in another war with England. It was rather from motives of policy, therefore, than of hearty good will, that Louis XVI. and his crafty ministers frowned upon the chivalric enterprise of the young marquis. They were obliged to put on the appearance of displeasure, to satisfy the watchful and suspicious emissaries of George III.

The sentiment in favor of the struggling colonies was continually increasing in France. Some of the papers openly advocated their cause, and applauded, in unmeasured terms, the heroic conduct of Lafayette. Many brave old soldiers and young cavaliers were eager to follow his example; and when the news of the surrender of Burgoyne, and the bold and masterly conduct of Washington at Germantown, reached the ears of the monarchs of Europe, giving assurance of ultimate success, the tide of popular feeling set so strongly in favor of America, that the ministry was carried along with it. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, were recognised and received as commissioners. A treaty of mutual amity was negotiated, and the independence of the United States of America guarantied by the court of France. The gallant conduct and spirited correspondence of Lafayette had its full share in bringing about this great result, by creating such a current of popular opinion in its favor as no ministry, however reluctant at heart, would have dared to oppose. So manifest, even at that time, was the agency of Lafayette, in producing this favorable issue, that Franklin, Deane, and Lee, had no sooner been admitted to an audience with the king, than, with John Adams and other distinguished Americans who were then in Paris, they immediately called on Madame

de Lafayette, and made a public acknowledgment of the indebtedness of their country to her husband.

On the 13th of April, 1778, Simeon Deane, brother of the commissioner in Paris, and bearer of despatches, was landed, from the French frigate *La Sensible*, at Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, bringing the joyful intelligence of a treaty with France. He was hailed with enthusiastic joy in all the towns through which he passed, on his way to York, where he arrived on the 2d of May. When Lafayette received his letters, announcing this arrival, he could scarcely contain his joy. He ran to General Washington, and embracing him, with tears of the deepest emotion, exclaimed: "The king, my master, has acknowledged your independence, and formed an alliance with you to secure and establish it."

The joy was universal, and loudly expressed. A new confidence was infused into Congress, the army, and the people. On the 6th of May, the orders of the commander-in-chief were issued, to have the event suitably acknowledged, in the following manner: "It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the universe to defend the cause of the united American states, and finally to raise us up a powerful friend among the princes of the earth, to establish our liberty and independence upon a lasting foundation, it becomes us to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the divine goodness, and celebrating the important event, which we owe to his divine interposition."

Agreeably to these orders, the several brigades of the army were assembled at their respective places of parade, on the morning of the 7th, where a full outline of the compact with France was communicated by the chaplains, followed by devout thanksgivings to God, and patriotic discourses upon the renewed obligations of American citizens. After some preparatory manœuvres,

the whole army was formed into line, and a grand salute fired of thirteen heavy guns. This was followed by a brilliant running fire of all the infantry, through the whole front line, from right to left, when it was immediately taken up by the rear line, and continued from left to right. Upon a signal then given, the whole army shouted, "*Long live the king of France !*" — the echo, "king of France !" reverberating from the hills on every side, being blended with and lost in another discharge of thirteen rounds from the heavy artillery. A second general discharge of musketry, in a running fire as before, from right to left, and left to right, was succeeded by the universal shout, "*Long live the friendly European powers !*" Prefaced in the same brilliant manner, the last and loudest huzza was given to "*The American States !*" which, rising on the breeze, was borne away to the distant hills, announcing, as if by a voice from heaven, that those states were now recognised in Europe as a free and independent nation.

In all these festive demonstrations, General Lafayette and his French compatriots bore a conspicuous part, receiving, as the representatives of their nation, the homage of a grateful people.

Under these encouraging auspices, the campaign of '78 was opened with a confidence and spirit which few, if any, of the American leaders, had ever felt before. In the expectation of efficient aid which was soon to arrive from France, it was determined to make every effort to bring all their effective force into the field, and drive the enemy from his posts. With a view to obtain satisfactory intelligence of their position, as well as to protect the country on the north from the ravages of foraging parties, two thousand four hundred men, under the command of General Lafayette, were sent, on the 18th of May, across the Schuylkill to Barren hill, a position

about equidistant from the two armies. This movement and its object were immediately reported to General Clinton by a spy, who had formerly been a soldier in the American army, and who still kept up a familiar but unsuspected intercourse with his old comrades. On receiving this intelligence, General Clinton formed a plan for cutting off the whole detachment; and so confident was he of success, that he invited several ladies of Philadelphia to sup with him on the evening of the following day, promising them the honor of an introduction to the young marquis de Lafayette. With this view, General Grant was detached, at the head of five thousand men, with orders to file off to the left, through Whitemarsh, so as to fall upon the rear of the American detachment. At the same time, General Grey, with two thousand men, marched up on the western bank of the Schuylkill, and took a station about two miles below Barren hill, on that side of the river; while another corps, commanded by General Clinton in person, took the direct road from Philadelphia, and halted at Chestnut hill.

Lafayette had chosen his position with the eye of a general, and disposed his men to great advantage. His camp occupied a commanding eminence, protected by the Schuylkill with its precipitous, rocky banks on the right, and by thick woods and some strong stone houses on the left. His cannon were well planted in front. A little in advance of his left wing was Captain M'Lane's company of riflemen, with about fifty young Indian warriors, having charge of the woods, to prevent a surprise. The roads leading to Philadelphia were well guarded by light troops, accustomed to the service of videttes; while General Porter, with six hundred Pennsylvania militia, was stationed on the road to Whitemarsh. A short distance in the rear of his encampment, on the left, there was a fork in the road, each branch leading to the

river, one striking it at Matson's ford and the other at Swedes' ford, the latter being the direct road to the camp at Valley Forge.

The movements of the enemy were quiet, stealthy, and unexpected. Their approach was not discovered by any of the argus-eyed outguards till the morning of the 20th, when General Grant's column was within a mile, on Lafayette's left. When this intelligence reached him, he was in the act of commissioning a messenger to Philadelphia, in the person of a young woman, who, under pretence of visiting her friends in the city, had engaged to procure information of the movements and designs of the British. While engaged in conversation with this woman, he was informed that a body of cavalry in red uniform was advancing from Whitemarsh. Expecting, according to previous arrangement, that a detachment of dragoons would join him from that quarter, the announcement did not alarm him. He sent an officer, however, to reconnoitre, and was soon informed that a strong column of the enemy, much superior in number to his own, was in full march along the road from Whitemarsh to Swedes' ford, and that the direct retreat to Valley Forge was cut off, the advanced guard of the enemy having already gained the fork. The picket coming in at the same time from the south, reported General Grey's column advancing on the Ridge road from Philadelphia. The numbers and proximity of the enemy, and the advanced position already gained by General Grant, rendered the situation of Lafayette and his detachment hazardous and critical in the extreme.

The youthful general saw at a glance the full extent of his danger, and the absolute necessity of consummate prudence and instant action in order to effect his escape. With the greatest promptness and decision, he changed his front, ordered a strong party to take possession of a

churchyard, which lay directly between his camp and the line of the enemy's advance, and drew up the remainder so that they were protected by the wood and the stone houses before mentioned. Perceiving that his only retreat was by Matson's ford, he directed a rapid but orderly advance on that road, at the same time sending out several small parties, with orders to show themselves, as heads of columns, at different points in the wood, hoping thus to deceive the enemy into the belief that his whole force was marching to an attack. In this manœuvre he was entirely successful. On the appearance of these parties, making a bold front, General Grant supposed they were sustained on their rear by the whole American force, and, fearing they might attempt to turn his flank if he continued his march in column, he halted his troops and drew them up in order of battle. Availing himself of the time occupied in this movement, Lafayette drew off his main body in rapid march toward Matson's ford, that road being fortunately concealed from the view of the enemy by an intervening hill covered with wood. In a little time his heads of columns and pickets gradually fell back and joined in the retreat. Having all arrived safely at the ford, they crossed the river, took possession of the high grounds on the other side, and prepared to receive the enemy, should he attempt to pursue them farther. His advanced parties reached the ford in season to annoy the American rear-guard, which was protecting the passage of the artillery. A slight skirmish took place, in which the Americans lost nine men killed and taken, and the enemy two dragoons killed and several wounded.

When the two divisions of the British met at the church on Barren hill, their over-confident generals were surprised and chagrined to find that the bird had flown. They were quite sure that they had him in a net from

which he could not escape. They pushed on with all speed to the ford, but, finding that the retreating party was strongly posted on the other side of the stream, and ready to contest the passage, they abandoned the pursuit and returned immediately to Philadelphia.

Lafayette obtained and deserved the highest praise for the prudence and skill with which he extricated himself from this perilous position. He received the warmest approbation of his beloved commander, and a vote of thanks from Congress, in which they styled his manœuvre "a well-timed and masterly retreat." Nor was it through any want of proper military prudence on his part that he was brought into a situation of so much peril without due notice. The road to Whitemarsh had been provided with a strong guard of six hundred men, under General Porter, who, for some unexplained reason, of which the general was not notified, had retired to another position, and left that road open to the enemy.

This affair was one of the deepest interest to both the contending parties. Lafayette's detachment comprised the flower of the American army, and its loss would have been a severe if not an irreparable disaster. To give intensity to the interest of the occasion, the whole scene of his peril was distinctly viewed, by the aid of telescopes, from the camp at Valley Forge. His position was high, with a declivity toward the north, which exposed to the view of the observers at headquarters the encampment and the entire line of General Grant's march toward the Swedes' ford road. The road to Matson's ford was concealed from view. So that Washington and his compeers had the pain of seeing their noble young friend surrounded with peril from which it seemed impossible to escape, without the power of following him in his masterly retreat.

The British generals, on the other hand, were so sure

of their prey before they started on the chase, that they were wholly unprepared for a disappointment. It is understood that General Howe, though not then in command, accompanied the expedition, and that his brother, the admiral, was also present as a volunteer, flattering himself that he should have the pleasure of conveying the young marquis as a prisoner to Europe. When the generals met on the hill, they were both so overcome with vexation at the loss of their prey, that they almost quarrelled with each other. There was little time, however, for words. The alarm-guns fired at Valley Forge, to warn Lafayette of his danger, had given them the impression that the whole American force was coming down upon them. They therefore made all possible despatch in securing their own retreat.

An amusing incident is related in connection with this enterprise. The young Indian warriors, who were placed near Captain M'Lane's company, in ambush among the trees, had never seen an English dragoon. When, therefore, a party of these fierce-looking cavaliers, with their huge bearskin caps and fiery costume, advancing rapidly along the road, came suddenly upon the ambuscade, the terrified savages raised a horrible yell, threw down their arms, and escaped by swimming across the Schuylkill. The dragoons, on the other hand, had recently arrived in the country, and had not yet encountered an Indian foe. Equally astounded and terrified by the sudden apparition and the unearthly yell, they turned suddenly about, without firing a pistol, and never looked behind them till they reached Philadelphia.

On the arrival of the commissioners with Lord North's proposals of conciliation, a new excitement arose, in which General Lafayette was destined to act a conspicuous part. The door to reconciliation with the mother-country was hopelessly closed, long before this arrival.

The Declaration of Independence, notwithstanding some differences of opinion among the people, had settled that point for ever. It was the Magna Charta of America. The oath of renunciation and allegiance administered to the officers of the army, and the resolutions of Congress of the 22d of April, before the arrival of the commissioners, and before the treaty with France was announced, declaring that "the United States could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of said states," were the double bars and bolts that secured the ark where that charter was deposited. And the ratification of the treaty with France, in which, while she guarantied our independence and liberty, we solemnly pledged ourselves not to listen to any proposal for relinquishing it, placed a seal upon those bolts which few would have been so hardy as to break, even if they had desired to do so.

The commissioners were not admitted to an interview with Congress, the essential preliminary above contemplated, not having been attended to. Among the papers transmitted by them to Congress was an address to that honorable body, the reading of which was called for as soon as it was announced by the president. The paper contained, among other offensive matters, expressions which were regarded as highly disrespectful to the king of France. At that point the reading was interrupted. The house directed the president to seal up the papers, and immediately adjourned. When the subject was resumed the next day, the 17th of June, it was only to reiterate the resolution of the 22d of April, and assure the commissioners of their perfect readiness to make peace whenever the king of Great Britain should manifest a

disposition to do so, "the only solid proof of which would be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawal of his fleets and armies."

The offensive passage in the address was in these words: "We can not but remark the insidious interposition of a power which has, from the first settlement of the colonies, been actuated by enmity to us both; and, notwithstanding the pretended date, or present form, of the French offers to North America, it is notorious that they have only been made, because it was believed that Great Britain had conceived the design of an amicable arrangement, and with a view to prevent reconciliation, and prolong this destructive war."

By orders from the minister of war, the British general prepared to evacuate Philadelphia as soon as it was ascertained that the terms of conciliation would not be accepted by Congress. The war was now to be prosecuted with the utmost vigor. The olive-branch was withdrawn, and absolute, unconditional submission, at the point of the bayonet, proposed in its stead. From New York, as the central post, the thunder-bearing ships and the armed legions were to be sent forth in all directions to ravage the country, to lay waste the towns and villages, that so rebellion might be crushed under the iron hoof of Mars.

The evacuation took place on the 17th of June. Sir Henry Clinton led the army in person across the Jerseys, moving by slow and easy marches, and apparently inviting an attack. The army of Washington, which was of nearly equal force, left its quarters at Valley Forge at the same time, and took the road to Coryell's ferry, with the purpose of hanging on the rear of the enemy, and taking advantage of every opportunity that might offer to annoy him. It was a question in the council of war, upon which the officers were seriously divided, whether they

should allow the foe to pass unmolested to New York, and content themselves with merely taking possession of the ground, by establishing their camp at White Plains, or endeavor to weaken him as they went, by falling on his rear, or offering him battle. Lee, Stirling, and several others, were opposed to fighting, on the ground that the advantage was too much in favor of the enemy. Others, among whom Lafayette was one of the most urgent, contended that it would be dishonorable to themselves, and unjust to the army, to allow so favorable an opportunity to pass, when they had the choice of the time and mode of attack. To this opinion, in which he was ably supported by General Greene, the commander-in-chief was strongly inclined. But the majority seconded the views of Lee.

Confident in his ability to meet the enemy, and satisfied that the interests of his cause demanded the trial, Washington called another council, in which his views were again negatived by a decided majority. Finding, however, that some of his officers on whom he placed the greatest reliance not only supported his views, but were ready to take the lead in any plan of operations which he might direct, he resolved to take the entire responsibility upon himself. He was then in the vicinity of Princeton, and the British army was on its march, by way of Crosswicks and Allentown, toward Monmouth. Major-General Dickerson, with about one thousand of the Jersey militia, and a brigade of continentals, commanded by General Maxwell, kept close on its track, and observed and reported all its movements. General Cadwallader and Colonel Morgan, with their respective corps, were also in pursuit, hanging on the right flank and rear of the enemy.

On the 24th of June, Brigadier-General Scott was detached, with a chosen corps of fifteen hundred men, to

reinforce General Maxwell. The next day, Brigadier-General Wayne followed with a thousand select troops, accompanied by Major-General Lafayette, who had command of the whole force. This command, which was in the highest degree honorable and important, devolved of right upon General Lee. But that officer having opposed with all his eloquence the hazard of the present expedition, thought proper to decline the post. It was immediately solicited and obtained by Lafayette, much to the satisfaction of Washington, who rejoiced in having so good an opportunity of showing his entire confidence in the ability and prudence of the young marquis.

He was no sooner gone, than General Lee changed his mind, and addressed a note to the commander-in-chief, apologizing for his "rash assent" to the arrangement, and claiming the right to have it reversed, declaring that, in case of action on the part of so large and important a detachment, under the command of their junior, both he and Lord Stirling would be disgraced. Willing to gratify Lee, and desirous, at the same time, of saving the feelings of Lafayette, the former was immediately detached, with two additional brigades, to support the latter. As senior officer, he would, of course, have command of the whole division; but he was specially instructed, in case General Lafayette had already undertaken any definite enterprise against the enemy, that he should be permitted to carry it through without interference. With this understanding, Lee joined the detachment at English Town, and assumed the command of the whole division, leaving to Lafayette only that of the militia and the light-horse. It was with the greatest reluctance that the latter yielded a position he had so much coveted; but when General Lee appealed to his generosity, saying, "It is my fortune and my honor that I place in your hands; you are too generous to cause

the loss of both," he waived his right, and retired to his subordinate command.

Meanwhile, before the arrival of Lee, Lafayette had pressed boldly forward, and taken a position on commanding ground, not far from Monmouth, and about five miles in the rear of the enemy, with the intention of leading on the attack as soon as he should take up his line of march in the morning. The main army having moved on to Cranberry, this advanced corps was found to be too far on the right, to be easily reinforced, in case of coming to close action, and Lafayette received orders from Washington to file off toward English Town. This was done early in the morning of the 27th.

Sir Henry Clinton having taken a strong position on the heights of Freehold, it was not deemed prudent to assail him there; but as there would be no chance of operating successfully against him, if he should succeed in reaching the heights of Middletown, it was determined to attack his rear, as soon as he should move from his encampment. Orders to this effect were sent to General Lee, and corresponding preparations were made with the main division.

The subsequent details of this battle belong rather to the history of the war and to the private memoirs of Washington and Lee, than to those of Lafayette. The part he took in it was subordinate, and dependent upon the orders and movements of others, and consequently afforded little opportunity for the display of military talent. The unexpected retreat of Lee, the disorder and confusion consequent thereupon, the sudden arrival of Washington, the renewed attack, the decisive advantages gained by the American arms, and the silent abandonment of the field by the English, under cover of the night, notwithstanding the manifest desire of Washing-

ton to renew the battle, are recorded in all the chronicles of the day.

The position of General Lafayette in this engagement was in the left wing, under the immediate command of General Lee. The light-horse companies of his detachment, being brought into immediate conflict with the queen's dragoons, were soon routed. The militia could hardly be expected to stand their ground, whoever led them, when the whole division, under superior orders, had commenced a retreat. When, through the presence and active exertions of Washington, Lee's flying squadrons rallied, and the inglorious retreat was changed into an impetuous charge, and a decided repulse of the enemy, Lafayette was in the thickest of the fray, and won the admiration of all around him, for his coolness, intrepidity, and skill. Colonel Willet, of New York, who acted as aid to General Scott, of the Virginia line, and was under the immediate command of Lafayette, was particularly enthusiastic in his commendation of the youthful hero. "I have been charmed," said he, "with the gallantry and sagacity of the marquis de Lafayette, who appears to be possessed of every requisite to constitute a great general."

But gallantry and intrepid courage were not the only virtues he displayed on this brilliant occasion. The truly brave are always generous and humane. A truly heroic soul can not be a selfish one. Having approached, with a small escort, within reach of the enemy's guns, for the purpose of reconnoitring their position, his aide-de-camp and friend was struck by a ball, and fell at his side. The officers and soldiers fled precipitately from the spot; but the general would not abandon his friend, while a chance remained of saving his life. He hastened to his side, and, leaning over him, addressed him in tones of kindness and affection. But it was too late; the work



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of death was already done. Turning away with deep emotion, he left the place with slow and mournful steps, and presently rejoined his escort, who awaited his coming at a safe distance from the fatal battery. It is said that Sir Henry Clinton was present in person at this scene; and recognising the young marquis, by the snow-white charger which he always rode, was so touched by his heroic magnanimity and manly grief, that he commanded the gunners to cease firing, and suffered him to retire unmolested. How beautifully are the harsh and revolting features of war relieved by such noble traits of humanity as these! and how lamentable that men, who, even when arrayed in deadly strife against each other, are alive to such sentiments, and moved by such sympathies, should ever feel it necessary to resort to the sword for the settlement of their differences, whether national or personal.

CHAPTER VI.

LAFAYETTE'S SERVICES IN RHODE ISLAND—HIS RETURN TO FRANCE.

EARLY in July, the French fleet, consisting of twelve vessels, under command of the count d'Estaing, arrived in the offing at New York, to aid, agreeably to the terms of the treaty, in establishing the independence of the United States. M. Girard, a minister duly accredited to the young republic, accompanied the fleet. This arrival was an occasion of the sincerest satisfaction to Lafayette, and soon procured for him the honor of an active and useful service.

He was still in official discredit at Versailles. "The last mark of attention," to use his own words, "with which the court had honored him, had been an order to arrest him in the West Indies." He consequently received no letters by the fleet; but Count d'Estaing, respecting his character, and perceiving the elevated stand he had taken in America, honored him with special marks of attention and confidence.

It was the design of the count, and the wish of Congress, to make an immediate attack on the headquarters of the British at New York; but not being able, in consequence of the heavy draught of his ships, to enter the harbor, it was resolved to make an attack on General Pigot, at Newport, in Rhode Island. The British garrison, at that time, consisted of six thousand effective troops,

in a strong position, with excellent defences and ample military appointments. General Sullivan commanded the American force in that quarter, which, for this emergency, was to be augmented by large draughts upon the New England militia. His headquarters were at Providence. On the 21st of July, Lafayette was detached from the army at White Plains, with two brigades of continentals, to support Sullivan. He was immediately followed by General Greene, who, besides being one of the ablest commanders in the American army, was a native of Rhode Island, and possessed great personal influence with the people. On his arrival, he took command of the right wing, under Sullivan, Lafayette being at the head of the left.

The French fleet arrived at Newport on the 25th. A plan of operations was immediately concerted, to dislodge the British garrison. The French fleet was to enter the harbor, and land a body of troops on the west side of the island, while the Americans, under cover of the guns of a frigate, should land on the opposite shore.

Everything being in readiness, on the 8th of August, the French squadron entered the harbor of Newport, discharging heavy broadsides into the town, and receiving the fire of the batteries, but without material damage to either party. Some reinforcements of militia which were expected to co-operate in this enterprise not having arrived, Sullivan sent a message to the French admiral, proposing to postpone the attack till the next day. The fleet accordingly retired down the bay. Having ascertained at early dawn the next day, that the British defences on the northern part of the island had been abandoned during the night, and deeming it necessary to take immediate possession of the works, Sullivan crossed over with his whole army, at Howland's ferry, and occupied the deserted posts.

The French commander was displeased with this movement, in which he and his troops were not allowed to cooperate, as it deprived them of their just share in the honors of the day. He contended that it was his own demonstration of the previous day which led to the evacuation of the fortresses, and to him belonged the honor of taking possession. In this, however just might have been his claim to precedence, he was more punctilious than wise, and, as the result proved, sacrificed the whole expedition to a point of etiquette. The day was lost in discussion, which should have been given to action. Sullivan, when he sent to inform the count of his new position, proposed an immediate attack; but that gentleman's resentment was so great, that he not only refused to move, but even to reply to the message.

The next day, the French fleet had other business to do than to attack Newport. A British fleet appeared in the offing, and Count d'Estaing found it necessary to do the same thing which Sullivan had done two days before, that is, to accommodate his motions to this new emergency without consulting the American commander. The wind being favorable, he put out to sea in quest of the British ships, after sending word to General Sullivan that, on his return to port, he would pursue any course with respect to the intended attack which the American commander might then deem proper.

As Lord Howe did not consider it prudent, on his part, to attempt the succor of General Pigot while the French fleet held possession of the bay, it is difficult to imagine on what grounds the count was induced to relinquish so great an advantage, at the very moment when everything was ready for decided action. Had he first made the contemplated attack on Newport, he might, and probably would, after accomplishing the highest hopes of the expedition, have gone forth, in the very flush of one vic-

tory on land, to seek and secure another on his own appropriate element. But Providence ordered it otherwise. The British garrison escaped, and jealousies were kindled and excitements produced, which for a time disturbed the whole country, and threatened even to nullify all the great and permanent advantages which were expected to result from the French alliance. A violent storm prevented the engagement of the two hostile fleets, doing such material damage to the ships of both as to render them unfit for action. Lord Howe returned to New York for repairs; and Count d'Estaing, after an absence of nine days, regained the harbor of Newport.

In the meantime, the expected reinforcements of militia from New Hampshire and Massachusetts had arrived, increasing Sullivan's effective force to ten thousand men, and it was deemed advisable at once to commence the siege. General Lafayette remonstrated against proceeding to active operations before the return of the count, on the twofold ground that his presence and co-operation were essential to success, and that new offence would be taken, should they make any decisive move in his absence. There was, however, a necessity for immediate action. The army, composed mostly of volunteer militia, who had only for a few days exchanged their scythes and sickles for swords and bayonets, to meet a sudden emergency, could not long be held together, except by the pressure of imminent danger or active service. Lafayette's opinion was consequently overruled by the majority in council, and Sullivan with his army encamped before Newport on the fifth day after the departure of the French. His situation was critical and alarming; since, by the departure of the fleet, the door was thrown wide open for the entrance of any succors by which the British general might wish to reinforce the town, or cut

off the retreat of the besiegers. On the evening of the 19th, all apprehensions on this account were relieved by the reappearance of the fleet.

But Sullivan was doomed to a second disappointment, more bitter than the first. Count d'Estaing had only put into the bay to inform him that it was impossible to render any assistance at that time, as he was obliged, by the tenor of his instructions, to go to Boston for repairs. The American commander employed arguments and persuasions, entreaties and remonstrances, in the hope of reversing this fatal decision. Generals Greene and Lafayette were deputed to wait on the admiral in person, with instructions to urge everything which might induce a compliance with their wishes.

This commission, though faithfully executed, was unsuccessful. With the ardor and earnestness of men personally interested in the result, they represented to the count the vast importance, not only to America but to France, of striking an early and decisive blow. They urged the absolute certainty of success; requiring, for that end, a delay on his part of two days only. They painted, in glowing colors, the brilliancy of the exploit, which should reduce to submission, at one stroke, a well-appointed garrison of six thousand chosen troops, and the corresponding reproach that would be cast upon the allied arms, if so favorable an opportunity for distinction should be causelessly thrown away, and the beleaguered enemy suffered to escape unharmed. They pressed the consideration that everything was ready on the part of the Americans, and that, in the view of both nations and the world, the failure of the enterprise must be chargeable solely to the untimely withdrawal of their new allies, whom the common enemy had earnestly endeavored to persuade them they would find always more ready to promise than to perform—always more ready

to negotiate a treaty for mutual benefit, than to carry it into effect. To that enemy it would be a double triumph, to see so formidable and promising an expedition melt away into nothing, and to be able, tauntingly, to say, "We forewarned you of this. Behold the broken reed on which you have chosen to lean. Its first act has involved you in loss and disgrace, when it might easily have secured you a triumph. From such friends you have more to fear than even from your enemies."

It was further suggested, and with ample reason, that, in the shattered condition of the fleet, it would incur a new hazard in attempting the difficult navigation of the Nantucket shoals and Cape Cod; while its present position offered equal facilities for refitting with Boston, and far greater advantages for annoying the enemy. To these arguments were added an earnest entreaty that no personal or private considerations should be allowed to affect a decision, on which so many and so great public interests were suspended. It was all in vain. The count, inflexible in his purpose, sailed for Boston on the 22d of August.

When Lafayette and Greene returned to the army with this report, it awakened the most lively emotions of indignation and regret. Loud murmurs, not unmixed with bitter execrations, ran from rank to rank, and the same feeling of intense disappointment and regret pervaded the whole country. Sullivan, seeing a glorious and certain achievement wrenched from his very grasp, was chagrined and excited beyond measure. In the forlorn hope of yet saving the expedition from utter failure, he despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, in a fast-sailing clipper, to overtake the fleet, with another message of earnest remonstrance to Count d'Estaing, against so singular an abandonment of an enterprise of his own suggesting, and pressing him, in any

event, if he must withdraw his ships, to leave behind his land-forces. This was accompanied by a protest, signed by all the general officers of Sullivan's command, except Lafayette, setting forth, in terms of emphatic earnestness, the views they entertained of his conduct, and the poignant regret and disappointment, not of the army alone, but of the whole country, at his unexpected departure from the scene of action. The count was deeply wounded and displeased with the terms of the protest, but, unmoved by its arguments and appeals, held on his course to Boston.

Thus disconcerted in his plan of operation, General Sullivan was subjected to the additional mortification of seeing his own force, which, by extraordinary exertions, he had augmented to ten thousand, dwindle away to something less than half that number. The neighboring militia, who, with the promise of efficient aid, and the expectation of instant and decided action, had rushed to the rescue at a moment's warning, seeing now no hope of accomplishing any good purpose, rushed back to their farms and their firesides, with a sullen determination not again to leave them, till the trumpet should give forth a less "uncertain sound."

In the course of a few days, the army was so reduced that it became necessary to raise the siege, and retire to the post recently abandoned by the enemy, at the north end of the island. Having entrenched himself in this position, General Sullivan resolved to make one effort more to induce Count d'Estaing to return, and lend the aid of his fleet, to accomplish the object he had so much at heart. For this purpose, recourse was had, a second time, to the good offices of General Lafayette, who, in company with General Hancock, of the Massachusetts militia, proceeded to Boston, to seek an interview with the French commandant.

Had this mission proved successful in its main object, the aid it solicited would have arrived too late. In breaking up his camp before Newport, Sullivan used every precaution to prevent the enemy from gaining an advantage over him. Retiring in perfect silence, under cover of the night, his motions were not observed till he had nearly effected his object. As soon as the dawn revealed his retreat to General Pigot, he issued forth in two heavy columns, and fell upon the rear. Stung with vexation and disappointment, in view of his changed position, and nerved to tenfold resolution by the events which had just transpired, Sullivan turned upon his pursuers and offered instant battle. A warm action ensued, in which the Americans displayed the most admirable coolness and resolution, and repulsed the enemy with considerable loss. The fighting continued through the day. The day following, a distant cannonade was kept up on both sides, but neither party was inclined to risk a general engagement.

General Pigot was hourly expecting reinforcements from New York. Sullivan, being duly advised of their embarkation, silently abandoned his post on the island, and crossed over, with his whole force, to the main land. So judiciously was this manœuvre planned, and so handsomely executed, that the enemy had no intimation of the movement till it was effected. When Lafayette received intelligence of the retreat of Sullivan, he hastened back from Boston, and arrived at his post in season to render essential service in covering the rear. A more timely retreat was never made. The next day, the 31st of August, Sir Henry Clinton arrived in the bay, with twelve ships-of-war, and large reinforcements of men. Thus ended this unfortunate expedition to Rhode Island. But the feeling of disgust, which it everywhere excited, did not end here. Diligently and skilfully fomented by

British influence, it broke out, in several places, into acts of open hostility.

The part borne by General Lafayette, in these trying scenes, was as magnanimous as it was difficult. To an interest in the cause of American independence, as deep and sincere as that of the best and bravest of her own sons, he added an honest, earnest loyalty to his native land, and a patriot's pride in all that concerned her honor. While he shared in all the disappointment and regret of the army to which he was attached, and the people of his adoption, he was, as a Frenchman, keenly alive to every indignity offered to the crown and flag of France in the person of her military representative. He suffered alike from the caprice and captiousness of Count d'Estaing, and from the severe though merited animadversions of Sullivan and his associates. In all this, he maintained the dignity and self-respect of the Frenchman, without compromising, in any degree, the ardor and fidelity of his attachment to America, or lessening the confidence of his American friends in the heartiness of his devotion to their cause.

Having withdrawn his army from the immediate vicinity of the enemy, General Sullivan re-established his headquarters at Providence. The posts near Newport were left in charge of Lafayette, whose quarters were fixed at Bristol. In a few days he repaired again to Boston, where his presence and influence were required to sooth the excited passions of the multitude, and restore harmony and good feeling between his countrymen and the Americans, which, recently so cordial and enthusiastic, seemed about to be changed into bitterness. Some of the leading men in Boston were so deeply excited, that it was feared the necessary facilities for repairing the shattered fleet would be withheld. Lafayette succeeded, however, in calming the angry elements;

his easy access to both parties, and his universal popularity, giving him a preponderating influence in the councils of each. This commission fulfilled, and no prospect remaining of active service at the north, he returned to the main army, then stationed in the highlands of New York.

During his absence, the English commissioners had been employing all the means in their power to create an interest among the masses of the people in favor of a reconciliation with Great Britain. In pursuing this object, they had made a free use of the temporary disaffection toward France. In a public letter, widely circulated, bearing the signature of "Carlisle," the French nation was taxed with "*a perfidy too universally acknowledged to require any new proof.*"

Not satisfied with the warmth of American indignation, in view of this and similar insulting language, the patriotic pride of Lafayette demanded some further notice of the indignity. He could not silently allow these aspersions upon the character of his royal master. Deeming the earl of Carlisle, who was at the head of the commission, the principal aggressor, he addressed him a note, repelling the unhandsome reflection upon his country, and demanding either a gentlemanly retraction of the offensive words, or personal satisfaction in the field. Washington would have overruled his friend in this matter, if his prudent counsels had been listened to. He acknowledged that ground of offence existed, but argued beforehand that the challenge would be declined on considerations of a public nature, and that, for this reason, it would be wiser and more prudent to take no notice of the matter. The earl, on receiving the challenge, treated it as Washington had predicted, refusing to grant, in relation to a matter of public concern, in which he could only be regarded as the representative of his sovereign,

speaking in his name and by his orders, that kind of satisfaction, which, however admissible, in case of mere personal differences, should be reserved for such alone.

In this case, Lafayette was led to do, in the ardor of youth, and in the heat of military pride, what the better judgment of his mature years condemned. In writing of this incident, some forty years after, he says: "Carliste was right." Many of his best friends, no doubt, regretted his course at the time, as uncalled for and injudicious; but there were few, if any, at that day, who were prepared to condemn it as immoral. So far as his reputation and standing were concerned, the effect was favorable. It increased his popularity and consequence with the American army and people, gratified his friends in Europe, and gained him favor with the king and court of France, who were somewhat disposed to pardon his past contumacy, on witnessing so conspicuous a proof of the loyalty of his heart, and the sincerity of his patriotism.

The ground taken by the earl, his antagonist, was unquestionably the true one. It was no reflection upon his courage, that he declined the duel. He did it upon high and acknowledged principles; and it was greatly to his credit, as a brave and honorable man, that he listened to the voice of reason rather than to that of passion, in a case where passion usually has the most influence, and where the sentiment of the multitude was sure to be against him.

France was now at war with England, and with other powers on the continent; and General Lafayette, though bound by stronger ties than ever to the cause of America, felt that the first duty of every soldier was to serve his native country. Under this impulse, he addressed a letter to Congress, soliciting a temporary leave of absence, that he might offer his services to his king. "As

long as there were any hopes," says his letter, "of an active campaign, I did not think of leaving the field. Now, that I see a very peaceable and undisturbed moment, I take this opportunity of waiting on Congress. In case my request is granted, I shall so manage my departure as to be certain, before going off, that the campaign is really over. Enclosed, you will find a letter from his excellency General Washington, expressing his assent to my getting leave of absence. I dare flatter myself that I shall be looked upon as a soldier on furlough, who most heartily wishes again to join his colors and his most esteemed and beloved fellow-soldiers. If I can be in any way useful to America, in my absence, I trust I shall always be considered as a man deeply interested in the welfare of the United States, and entertaining the most profound affection, regard, and confidence, for their representatives."

This application was honored with a most respectful and flattering attention, resulting in the following resolutions:—

"1778. In Congress, October 21. *Resolved*, That the marquis de Lafayette, major-general in the service of the United States, have leave to go to France, and that he return at such time as shall be most convenient to him.

"*Resolved*, That the president write a letter to the marquis de Lafayette, returning him the thanks of Congress for that distinguished zeal which led him to America, and for the services he has rendered to the United States, by the exertion of his courage and abilities on many signal occasions.

"*Resolved*, That the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of Versailles be directed to cause an elegant sword, with proper devices, to be made, and presented, in the name of the United States, to the marquis de Lafayette."

“October 22. *Resolved*, That the following letter of recommendation be written to the king of France :—

“To our great, faithful, and beloved friend and ally, Louis the Sixteenth, king of France and Navarre : The marquis de Lafayette having obtained our leave to return to his native country, we could not suffer him to depart, without testifying our deep sense of his zeal, courage, and attachment. We have advanced him to the rank of major-general in our armies, which, as well by his prudent as his spirited conduct, he has manifestly merited. We recommend this young nobleman to your majesty’s notice, as one whom we know to be wise in council, gallant in the field, and patient under the hardships of war. His devotion to his sovereign has led him, in all things, to demean himself as an American ; acquiring thereby the confidence of these United States, your good and faithful friends and allies, and the affection of their citizens. We pray God to keep your majesty in his holy protection.”

M. Girard, the French minister, in closing his despatches to his government, at this time, uses the following language : “I ought not to terminate this long despatch, without rendering to the wisdom and dexterity of the marquis de Lafayette, in the part he has taken in these discussions, the justice which is due to his merits. He has given most salutary counsels, authorized by his friendship and experience. The Americans have strongly solicited his return with the troops which the king may send. He has replied with a due sensibility, but with an entire-resignation to the will of the king. I can not forbear saying, that the conduct, equally prudent, courageous, and amiable, of the marquis de Lafayette, has made him the idol of the Congress, the army, and the people, of America. A high opinion is entertained of his military talents. You know how little I am in-

clined to adulation; but I should be wanting in justice, if I did not transmit to you these testimonials, which are here in the mouth of all the world."

The letters of General Washington were equally flattering and kind. The officers and soldiers of the army expressed the deepest affection for his person, and the most exalted admiration of his conduct. There was a universal sentiment of regret at his departure, accompanied with a cordial and unanimous approval of the motive and spirit by which he was actuated.

With these testimonials, and loaded with the gratitude of a nation, he took leave of his devoted friends in camp and city, and set out on his journey to Boston, where the frigate *Alliance* was ordered to be in readiness to convey him home. The labors, fatigues, and agitations of recent events, and particularly the grief of mind he had experienced in the ill-fated expedition to Rhode Island, had seriously undermined his health, and induced a strong tendency to fever. Exposed on horseback to the chilly winds and frequent rains of autumn, these symptoms had increased to such an alarming extent on his arrival at Fishkill, then the headquarters of General Macdougall, that he was compelled to surrender to the care of the surgeon. He was soon reduced to the last extremity by inflammatory fever. He was three months detained under the medical care of Doctor Cochrane, the principal surgeon of the army, during which his life was for a time despaired of. In prospect of this impending calamity, the army and the nation were afflicted. Washington, whose headquarters at that time were not many miles distant, exhibited the most intense paternal anxiety, visiting him daily, and conjuring the attending physician to watch over him as if he were his own son, adding, with emotion, "I love him as truly as if he were so."

These charges were by no means necessary to secure

the kindest and most faithful nursing. The patient was equally dear to every officer in the army. He was known in the camp as the "soldier's friend;" and anxious looks and eager inquiries on every side testified to the sincere attachment of the whole army to the youthful general, and their absorbing solicitude for his speedy restoration. His sufferings were very great, and his prospect of recovery exceedingly slight. The fever raged with great violence, accompanied with severe pains in his head, though he was not at any time deprived of his reason. He was conscious of his danger, and prepared himself to meet his fate with composure. It was hard to bring himself to think of taking so sudden and early a leave of his devoted friends, and his glorious career. His young and lovely wife, to whom he was devotedly attached; his children, one of whom he had never seen; his ambition for military glory, and his love of liberty, which were now the idols that divided his heart; his hope of seeing America free and independent, and of doing something himself to secure so glorious a consummation; his ardent love for his native land, and his firm belief that a better day was about to dawn upon her: these were the objects which occupied his mind and agitated his heart while contemplating the near approach of death, and the premature cutting off of a career so brilliantly begun. "In spite of my one-and-twenty years," said he, in speaking, some years after, of his feelings at this time, "I would willingly have exchanged my future chance of life, for the certainty of living but three months, on condition of again seeing my friends, and witnessing the happy termination of the American war."

By the aid of a good constitution, and most faithful, tender care, the fever was finally subdued. The prospect of his recovery was hailed with universal joy, and many an offering of heartfelt gratitude to God. As

soon as he was able to travel, he set off for Boston, accompanied by his physician, who had strict charges from the commander-in-chief to be in constant attendance, and not to leave him till he was actually embarked in his voyage. As there were at that time but few American sailors who were accustomed to naval service, it was found extremely difficult to complete the crew of the Alliance. The Massachusetts council proposed to resort to the *press*, a measure of compulsion well known to the people of England, but happily repugnant to every principle and sentiment of American growth. To this General Lafayette would not consent. It was therefore resolved to supply the deficiency by shipping a number of English deserters, then in port, who were not unwilling to return to Europe, and to open the way for volunteers from among the prisoners. With a motley company thus made up of the most incongruous elements, the frigate took her departure for Havre on the 11th of January, amid the warmest demonstrations of kindness and regard on the part of the hospitable people of Boston toward her distinguished passenger.

The voyage, which, at so advanced a season of the year, is seldom very agreeable, was at that period attended with all the peculiar hazards of a state of war, and with some, as will be seen in the sequel, not necessarily incidental to such a state. They encountered a violent storm on the banks of Newfoundland, which carried away the maintop-mast, the sea breaking over the ship with such violence as nearly to fill her with water. During one long dark night she was considered in imminent danger. She rode out the gale, however, in safety, and was soon again, with favoring winds, careering on her way. Escaped from this peril of the sea, they were soon exposed to one of a more difficult and appalling character. A convulsion of the natural elements is far less to

be dreaded than one of the moral. The ungoverned passions of wicked men, when roused to deeds of mutiny, treason, and death, are more formidable than tempest, volcano, or earthquake.

The proclamations of the British ministry had not only encouraged desertion and treason in the ranks of the American army, but had stimulated mutiny and massacre on board American ships, by promising to pay to their crews the full value of every *rebel* vessel which they should bring into an English port. Unhappily, the crew of the Alliance was composed of the very materials to be operated upon by such a temptation. The poverty of the British prisoners was a sufficient inducement on their part to listen to the overtures of the deserters, who had the additional incentive of a good opportunity, not only to fill their pockets with gold, but to secure the pardon of the king, and the safety of their forfeited lives. Whether any of them shipped with this object definitely in view, was never ascertained. But the plot was soon formed, and had nearly ripened into action before it was discovered.

The day was fixed for the perpetration of the bloody deed. The cry of "Sail ho!" was to be raised by the men stationed in the top. This would, of course, bring the officers all on deck, and probably the passengers with them. As they came up, they were instantly to be swept down by the guns of the conspirators, who, by the aid of the gunner's mate, had provided themselves for the crisis. Four in the afternoon was the hour assigned for the signal, and everything promised fair for the scheme until three. The men were all in their places, their guns loaded, and their other implements of death ready for the work, when it was most providentially arrested. A true-hearted American seaman, who had resided some years in Ireland, and acquired the accent peculiar to that peo-

ple, was, from this circumstance, supposed to belong to the British ranks. Under this impression, the mutineers had disclosed their plot to him, offering him the command of the frigate if he would join them. With admirable self-possession and prudence, he concealed his horror, and pretended to accept the proposal. He entered into their plans, informed himself of their numbers, names, and means of operation, and then watched for a favorable opportunity to defeat their horrid purpose. It was only one hour before the work was to have been finished, that such an opportunity offered, without exciting suspicions which would have been fatal to him, and destructive to his hopes of saving the ship. About three o'clock, he succeeded in obtaining an interview with the commander and with General Lafayette, unnoticed by any of the conspirators. Being informed of the danger which menaced them, they summoned the officers, with the other passengers, rushed sword in hand upon deck, and calling upon the uncorrupted American and French sailors to come to the rescue, seized the ringleaders and put them instantly in irons. Thirty-one of the culprits were thus secured and brought to trial. Many more were implicated, but, having disarmed them, and taken away their leaders, it was deemed the best policy to treat them with seeming confidence, and let them go.

Eight days after the detection of this plot, the Alliance entered the port of Brest. The mutineers were treated with singular clemency, being only detained as British prisoners, and exchanged as such, as soon as an opportunity occurred, instead of being brought to instant execution at the yard-arm.

CHAPTER VII.

LAFAYETTE'S INFLUENCE AND USEFULNESS IN FRANCE —
HIS SECOND VOYAGE TO AMERICA.

WHEN the ardent young soldier, the high-born and wealthy marquis de Lafayette, left his native land in the spring of 1777, to enlist as a volunteer in the rebel army of the United States, he was obliged to steal away like a fugitive, without seeking counsel or a blessing from his friends, or even taking leave of his young and lovely wife, disguised as a servant, pursued by the police, and subject to censures, penalties, imprisonment, and confiscation. When, in the early part of 1779, he returned to France, he entered her port openly and boldly, clothed with the highest office in the revolutionary army, and covered with the honors and praises of the grateful people whom he was aiding to secure their birthright of freedom, and was welcomed home with enthusiasm and triumph by the land of his birth. True, he was yet under the frown of royalty. Louis XVI. had not yet pardoned the presumption of his first overt act of disobedience. But the position of Louis was entirely changed. He had thrown down the gauntlet to England, formed an alliance with her rebel colonies, and commissioned his navy to aid them in making good their Declaration of Independence. In this change of policy, the nation sympathized, and everywhere the way was

prepared to receive the young cavalier with open arms as the champion of liberty and the pride of France.

Though placed under arrest, his prison was not the Bastille, as, under different circumstances, it might have been, but the hotel de Noialles, the magnificent city-residence of his wife's relations, where, in the princely leisure of a week's nominal confinement, he revelled in the endearments of home, and received the congratulatory visits of admiring friends. After this brief duress, he was received at court, with every mark of respect and admiration, the courtiers vying with each other which should do most honor to his heroic gallantry. The king and queen did not spare the most flattering compliments upon his early laurels, though neither of them approved, at heart, of the principles of the cause he had espoused. The current of popular opinion, too strong to be safely resisted, aided by the natural desire to cripple the power of England, had made Louis XVI. the ally of the American states, while, at the same time, he seriously deprecated the prevalence of opinions so adverse to the stability of monarchical institutions. The beautiful and accomplished Marie Antoinette, who cordially sympathized in all the legitimist scruples of her royal husband, had others, of a more conscientious character, respecting the course he was pursuing toward his rival on the other side of the channel. She preferred open war to stratagem, and looked upon the indirect effort to weaken the power of Great Britain, by sustaining her rebellious colonies in the establishment of a separate and republican government, as equally ungenerous toward her, and unadvisable with reference to their own position and claims, as hereditary occupants of a throne. With these views, the result of education and habit, she always and earnestly opposed the alliance. Could she have foreseen the terrible fate which the progress of liberal opinions was pre-

paring for herself, her royal husband and children, this opposition would doubtless have been more earnest, better directed, and therefore, perhaps, more successful.

As queen of France, however, she was proud of all that was noble and heroic in French chivalry. Though opposed to the principles of the American revolution, she could not but enjoy the spectacle of a proud, enthusiastic people engaged in rendering homage to the prudence, courage, and singular capacity, of the young French nobleman, whose admirable conduct had won all hearts at home, as it had secured the highest esteem and confidence abroad. Sympathizing in this generous enthusiasm of her subjects, which regarded the early glory of the youthful marquis as part of the military renown of France, she honored him with special marks of royal favor. He was often at court "the observed of all observers." The following lines, copied from an old play, by her own hand, as illustrative of the early maturity of his powers and his fame, show that the queen was no flatterer on this occasion, but that she justly appreciated, and truly admired, the character of Lafayette:—

"Why talk of youth,
When all the ripe experience of the old
Dwells with him? In his schemes profound and cool,
He acts with wise precaution, and reserves
For times of action his impetuous fire.
To guard the camp, to scale the leaguered wall,
Or dare the hottest of the fight, are toils
That suit the impetuous bearing of his youth;
Yet, like the gray-haired veteran, he can shun
The field of peril. Still before my eyes
I place his bright example, for I love
His lofty courage, and his prudent thought:
Gifted like him, a warrior has no age."

The recital of this passage at the theatre called forth the most enthusiastic applauses, and tended, more than ever, to draw all eyes toward the youthful hero, to whose

singular merit it was conceded, by universal acclaim, to offer an appropriate homage.*

The enthusiasm of the queen was such, at the time, that she proposed to send to Washington a magnificent royal present, as a token of her personal admiration. In consulting Lafayette with respect to the form of presentation, she cited the terms employed on similar occasions, in addressing the king of Sweden and other monarchs. Lafayette objected to them as unsuitable in this case, saying, with a tone of raillery which her majesty had too much good sense to resent, "They, madame, were only kings. Washington is the general of a free nation."

Lafayette's position was now more conspicuous and important than it had ever been. He had become the main connecting link between the United States and France. He enjoyed the affection and confidence of the two nations. With that steady and prudent zeal which formed so conspicuous a trait in his well-balanced character, he immediately set about employing all the facilities afforded by his favor at court, and his general popularity, in serving the cause of America. In this he had many serious obstacles to encounter. The ministry was divided into parties, by several of which, under various pretexts, means were employed to neutralize the popular zeal, or, at least, to prevent it from furnishing any effective succor. The queen's party demanded the previous fulfilment of the treaty of Vienna, by which forty thousand soldiers were pledged to carry on the war of the succession in Austria. The honest old economist, Necker, who, in unravelling the formidable mysteries of the national finances, had sounded the seemingly-unfathomable depths of the national debt, strenuously opposed any measures which could increase the public burdens, al-

* Madame Campan.

ready insupportable. The count de Maurepas, who had favored the American movement hitherto, began to sympathize with Neckar, and to contemplate a more speedy termination of the war, by a maritime descent upon England.

This latter proposal accorded well with the bold, daring, chivalrous zeal of Lafayette. Entering into it with characteristic energy, he was soon far in advance of its originators. Dr. Franklin had purchased the *Bonne Homme Richard*, a ship of fifty guns, the command of which was given to the celebrated Paul Jones. Another frigate was to be added, on French account, and a sudden descent made upon the western shores of England, with a view to levying heavy contributions upon Liverpool, Bristol, and other large commercial towns, for the benefit of the American finances. These vessels were to have sailed under American colors, commanded by Captain Jones, Lafayette having command of the land-forces accompanying the expedition. The vessels were nearly equipped, the troops, to the number of fifteen hundred, were assembled, ready for embarkation, and the whole scheme was about to be put into execution, when it was suddenly laid aside by the French government, to make way for another, which was to be formed on a more imposing scale. A combined attack on the English coast was to be made by the forces of France and Spain, which looked not merely to levying temporary contributions upon a few British merchants, but to permanently humbling the pride of British power.

In this expedition, Lafayette, though not the principal, as before, was to hold an important command, under the marshal de Vaux. But it was destined to an entire failure. Through the tardiness of Spain, in furnishing her stipulated quota of ships and men, the enterprise was delayed until England was apprized of its

objects, and prepared herself to resist it. France was ready, on her part; her ships and men, with those of the American commander, having rendezvoused at Havre. It was while waiting here, on this occasion, that Lafayette received from Dr. Franklin, through the hands of his grandson, a magnificent sword, which the Congress of the United States had voted him, on the eve of his departure from America.

This sword was a *chef d'œuvre* of American ingenuity and French art. The handle and mountings were of massive gold, beautifully and elaborately carved. On the knob were two medallions; one exhibiting a shield, with the Lafayette arms and a marquis's coronet, surmounted by a streamer, inscribed with his favorite motto, "CUR NON;" the other, a continent, illumined by the moon's crescent, representing the rising glory of America. In the centre of the shaft were two opposite, oblong, oval, medallions, representing, on one side, the British lion prostrate under the foot of Lafayette, and, on the other, America presenting a laurel-branch to her youthful defender. Piles of arms and laurel-crowns made up the remaining ornaments of the shaft. On the guard were four medallions, two on the convex and two on the concave face, representing, in *bas relief*, the battles of Gloucester and Monmouth, and the retreats of Barren hill and Rhode Island. The sides of the guard were also appropriately decorated; the front, or exposed side, bearing this inscription: "*From the American Congress to the marquis de Lafayette, 1779.*" The mounting of the scabbard was of gold, which was carved with symbolic devices. On one side, a large oval medallion represented Fame on the wing, crossing the ocean in advance of the frigate which conveyed Lafayette back to France. In one hand she held the crown awarded by America to Lafayette, and, in the other, the trumpet

with which she proclaimed to Europe his heroic exploits. On the other side was a shield, encircled with laurel, intended to receive the cipher and device of Lafayette, as the founder of a new name.

On forwarding this sword to Lafayette, Franklin addressed to him the following letter:—

“PASSY, *August 24, 1779.*

“SIR: The Congress, sensible of your merit toward the United States, but unable adequately to reward it, determined to present you with a sword, as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgments. They directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are, therefore, represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By help of the exquisite artists France affords, I find it easy to express everything but the sense we have of your worth, and our obligations to you. I therefore only add, that, with the most perfect esteem, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.”

During the reign of terror, this sword was buried, for safe-keeping, in the garden at Chavagniac. On the return of the family from exile, the blade was found to be entirely corroded with rust. The handle and mountings were afterward adjusted to the blade of another trophy, presented by the National Guard, in October, 1791, and manufactured from the bolts and bars of the Bastile.

The correspondence of General Lafayette, at this period, indicates an intensity of devotion to American interests, and a fertility of resource, which we are hardly prepared, even by his previous efforts and sacrifices, to expect. Sanguine in his hopes, and impatient of any delay in a matter so near his heart, he lost no opportunity to urge upon ministers the despatch necessary

to secure success, and the liberality requisite to insure despatch. His desire and hope was, that France would enter largely into the contest, and make ample provision for bringing it to a speedy issue. This, however, was asking too much from the economical counsellors of the king. At first, he did not solicit it in the name of the United States, his instructions from Congress having forbidden such a course, in consequence of the general dissatisfaction and want of confidence occasioned by the result of the expedition to Rhode Island. But when he saw the backwardness of the government and its agents, and began to fear that they would suffer the whole campaign to go by without affording any efficient aid to their new allies, he resolved to assume a new and mighty responsibility, going not only beyond, but against his instructions. He made direct application to his government, in behalf and in the name of the American Congress, for a large body of auxiliary troops, well appointed and officered, to be placed under the command of General Washington. The result justified the course he had taken. The direct, formal, official application was immediately answered. He was promised a body of six thousand men, who should be fully armed and equipped, and placed at the disposal of the American commander. This number was afterward reduced to four thousand.

That Lafayette lost none of the Frenchman, in identifying himself so heartily with the cause of America, was strikingly manifest in the designs proposed by him against England, some of which aimed directly at the dismemberment of that empire, as an end, as well as a means of accomplishing his first object, the independence of America. He had already taken part in two enterprises which proposed an offensive descent upon the coast of Great Britain. He now proposed another, of a more formidable and permanent character. This was no other

than the invasion and conquest of Ireland, not with a view to attach it to the crown of France, but to wrench it from that of England, and establish for it an independent government. "The scheme of my heart," said he in his letter to Washington, "would be to make her as free and independent as America. I have formed some private relations there. God grant they may succeed, and the era of freedom at length arrive for the happiness of mankind! I shall know more about Ireland in a few weeks, and then I will immediately communicate with your excellency." Could this "scheme of Lafayette's warm heart" have been realized, how different would be the story of the "Emerald Isle" from that which now pains the heart of every reader! The voice of her children would not now be coming to our ears, over the ocean-wave, in the wails, and groans, and dying sighs, of a nation perishing with famine, but in the shouts and pæans of a people "emancipated, regenerated, disenthralled."

Wherever, among the crowned heads of Europe, there existed at this time an ancient pique, or a more recent cause of hostility against England, it was sure to manifest itself in some act of sympathy for her rebel colonies. Lafayette took advantage of this feeling wherever he saw it exhibited, and administered such stimulants as he supposed necessary to rouse it into active co-operation. With this view, he made application to the Swedish ambassador at Paris to procure the loan to America of several ships-of-the-line, with half their crews, proposing that France should guaranty the loan, and complete the equipment. Knowing the backwardness of the ministry to adopt any suggestion which involved a new draught upon the exhausted treasury, he proposed, with a devotion and generosity seldom equalled, that the guaranty of the government should extend only so far as to cover the

excess of ultimate loss over and above the amount of his own private fortune; thus pledging to this one effort in behalf of the United States the whole of his princely estates. So confident was he in the entire success of the American cause, that he did not esteem the risk in this case worthy to be compared with the advantages to be derived from such an arrangement. A few ships at her own disposal would have been, indeed, a right arm of power to America in any stage of her arduous struggle, and would doubtless have shortened its duration most materially. The scheme failed—whether through the reluctance of France to engage in it, or the refusal of Sweden to second the views presented by her minister, does not appear.

It was finally determined, in accordance with Lafayette's urgent and unremitted persuasions, to send Count Rochambeau to America, with four thousand troops. Many young officers, from the most distinguished families of France, and especially those about the court, were induced to attach themselves to this corps, in order to give it additional importance in the eye of the ministry, and lead them the more readily to sustain its movements, by sending with it a competent naval force. The troops were to be disembarked at Rhode Island, which had just been evacuated by the British. They were then to be placed at the disposal of General Washington, and to constitute a division of his army, but under the immediate command of their own officers, with whom it was previously stipulated, in order to prevent continual jealousies and unnecessary discussions, that American officers of the same rank and age should always have the priority.

In addition to these important services, a loan of money was obtained in Holland, under the guaranty of France, to sustain the treasury of the United States. Fifteen thousand suits of **clothes**, and as many stand of arms were

also ordered in the different ports of France, for the benefit of the American army. Unhappily, this shipment was reserved to accompany the last detachment of two thousand men which had been promised to make up Count Rochambeau's force to six thousand. As this detachment never sailed, the clothing was a long time delayed in reaching its destination.

The spirit of entire devotion to the cause of American freedom in which these eminent services were rendered, can not be better illustrated than by allowing it to speak for itself in a few brief extracts from the letters of this period :—

“TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS: The affairs of America I shall ever look upon as my first business while I am in Europe. Any confidence from the king and ministers, any popularity I may have among my own countrymen, any means in my power, shall be, to the best of my skill, and till the end of my life, exerted in behalf of an interest I have so much at heart. If Congress believe that my influence may serve them in any way, I beg they will direct such orders to me, that I may the more certainly and properly employ the knowledge I have of this court and country, for securing a success in which my affections are so much engaged.”

To General Washington he wrote, after detailing some of his efforts to procure a loan of money—“Serving America, my dear general, is to my heart an inexpressible happiness.” Having spoken of his kind reception in France, his favor with the king, and the happiness of his family relations, he adds: “What I wish—what would make me the happiest of men—is, to join again the American colors, or to put under your orders a division of four or five thousand countrymen of mine.”

To the count de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs, having proposed certain measures to aid the American

cause, and otherwise harass the British in their foreign possessions, he says : " I solemnly affirm, upon my honor, that if half my fortune were expended in forwarding succors of troops to the American army, I should believe that in so doing I rendered to my own country a service much more important than this sacrifice."

To General Washington, of a later date : " However happy I am in France, however well treated by my country and king, I am bound to you, to America, and to my fellow-soldiers there, with such an affection, that the moment when I shall sail for your country will be one of the most wished-for and the happiest of my life."

When about to return to America, a question arose between himself and the French ministry, in what capacity he should be employed — whether he should command the French detachment, under the commission of the king, or resume his position as a major-general in the continental army. " In regard to myself," said he, " I ask for nothing, as, during the course of the war, I may hope to acquire rank. I will bind myself, if it be desired, to ask for neither rank nor titles ; and, to put the ministry quite at their ease, I will even promise to refuse, should they be offered me." Some of these preliminaries it became necessary to settle before assigning to so young an officer the same rank in the French detachment which he held in the American army, as it would create confusion and dissatisfaction among his seniors on his return. This will explain his last remark, that " he would bind himself to refuse rank, if it should be offered to him." He also, in the same spirit of disinterested devotion, says in another place, that he should wish such a commission to be given him as " would not prevent his seniors from resuming afterward their rank."

It was finally concluded that he should return to the United States as an American officer, having no definite

connection with the French corps. At his audience of leave, he wore his American uniform, the first perhaps that had been seen among the more showy equipages of the royal saloons. He sailed from the island of Aix, in the French frigate *Hermione*, on the 19th of March, 1780, and arrived at Boston on the 28th of April following. He had instructions from the count de Vergennes to prepare for the arrival of a French fleet, which was soon to set sail for America. To prevent the possibility of a mistake, or any serious delay in communicating with headquarters, he was directed to place an intelligent French officer at Cape Henry, and another at Newport, Rhode Island, to announce the arrival of the fleet, and furnish its commander such information as might be requisite to direct his first movements. This fleet arrived at Newport on the 10th of July. It consisted of seven ships-of-the-line, under the command of Admiral le chevalier de Ternay; and, though less in number than was expected, and inferior in force to the British fleet, it rendered essential service in the future operations of the war. Four thousand men, under Count Rochambeau, accompanied the fleet.

The reception of General Lafayette at Boston was marked with an enthusiasm in the highest degree flattering to that gallant young officer, and worthy of the patriotic pride of "the cradle of liberty." He was met with the acclamations of the multitude on the wharf, and borne in a triumphal civic procession to the residence of Governor Hancock, on Beacon hill, where he received the congratulations of the citizens. Eager to see his beloved Washington, and find himself once more in the field, he hastened to headquarters, at Morristown, where he was received, not only by the commander-in-chief, but by the whole army, with every demonstration of gratitude, affection, and respect. His own unbounded

popularity, not less than the tidings he brought of expected succors, in both men and ships, from France, insured him a cordial welcome. Washington, in the fullness of his heart, writing to the French minister, the chevalier de la Luzerne, says: "You will participate in the joy I feel at the arrival of the marquis de Lafayette. No event could have given me a greater pleasure on a personal account, and motives of public utility conspire to make it agreeable." To the president of Congress he wrote, "I am persuaded Congress will participate in the joy I feel at the return of a gentleman who has so signally distinguished himself in the service of this country, who has given so many and so decisive proofs of his attachment to its interests, and who ought to be dear to it from every motive. The warm friendship I have for him conspires with considerations of public utility to afford me a double satisfaction in his return. During the time he has been in France, he has uniformly manifested the same zeal in our affairs which animated his conduct while he was among us; and he has been on all occasions an essential friend to America. He merits, and I doubt not Congress will give him, every mark of consideration in their power."

Having passed four days in the camp, and communicated all his hopes and plans to the commander-in-chief, Lafayette proceeded to Philadelphia, to confer with Congress, and concert measures with the French minister, to render the French subsidies useful in the highest degree to the American cause. He was everywhere received with open arms, and greeted by Congress with special marks of grateful distinction. A resolution of thanks was passed on the 16th of May, declaring that "they considered his return as a fresh proof of the disinterested zeal and persevering attachment which have justly recommended him to the public confidence and

applause, and that they received with pleasure a tender of the further services of so gallant and meritorious an officer."

General Lafayette had now the immediate command of a selected corps of light-infantry, consisting of about two thousand men, and constituting the vanguard of the army. That celebrated partisan, Colonel Henry Lee, with his more than Roman legion, and Brigadier-General Morgan, with his invincible riflemen, were attached to this corps. While in France, the young general had purchased a large quantity of military ornaments for the soldiers, swords for the officers, and banners for the battalions. One of the banners had for a device a cannon, with this motto — "*Ultima ratio*," the last resort. Another had a crown of laurel united to a civic crown, with this motto — "*No other*." This corps was distinguished through the remainder of the war by the red-and-black plumes which their commander had purchased in France, and by being better and more uniformly clothed than any other — a distinction which was also due to the same disinterested munificence.

On the 4th of July, 1780, Lafayette addressed a letter to General Washington, expressing in the strongest terms his desire that the whole army should be suitably clothed, and his own plan for effecting it. If necessary to secure that object, he proposed to go himself to France, and bring back ten thousand complete suits.

The arrival of the count Rochambeau gave new life to the army and the people of America. The states roused themselves to new exertions and sacrifices. The people everywhere came forward to their support. The army was rapidly increased by large accessions of militia. Associations of wealthy merchants were formed to aid the finances of the country. The banks came forward to their aid. The ladies, always ready in a good cause, uni-

ted their efforts with those of their husbands, fathers, and brothers, to swell the contributions to the funds of the army. Their first movement to that effect was nobly and delicately seconded by Lafayette, who entered upon the Philadelphia list the name of his wife for the sum of one hundred guineas.

While all America was grateful for the subsidies, Lafayette alone was disappointed. They did not realize his just expectations. The ministry had but half fulfilled its promises. The ships, the men, the clothing, and the munitions of war, for the use of the army, all fell short of the arrangements and stipulations made with them, before he left France. It is true, another detachment, and a further shipment of arms and clothing, were promised; and they were wanted instantly, but they never arrived.

Fortunately, Lafayette had communicated to very few persons the secret of the expected succors; so that the English were not prepared, by corresponding reinforcements, to neutralize their influence, nor the Americans, by the disappointment of their hopes, to undervalue the aid afforded.

Immediately on the arrival of the French fleet, Lafayette was despatched to Newport to concert measures for instant action, on a plan which had long been in contemplation by Washington. It embraced the recovery of Long island, and an attack on the British headquarters at New York. On his way he called on Governor Trumbull and other eminent patriots of Connecticut, to make arrangements for calling out some additional companies of militia, to co-operate with the regular troops. Reaching Newport on the 25th of July, he found the French forces already disembarked, encamped on the island, and in instant expectation of an attack from the enemy. Four British ships had appeared in the bay on the 19th, followed, two days after,

by nine or ten more. Sir Henry Clinton had concerted with Admiral Arbuthnot to attempt, by a sudden and decisive blow, to surprise and cut off the French, before they had time to entrench themselves, or to form an effective junction with any portion of the American army. But, being delayed in his movements, he found them well fortified, and learned, at the same time, that Washington was making a rapid movement toward New York. He consequently abandoned the enterprise in haste, and returned to defend his quarters.

Lafayette, who had not seriously anticipated an assault from the British, now urged the immediate prosecution of the plans of Washington. He had full authority to conclude all the arrangements in the name of the commander-in-chief. There were difficulties, however, which he could not surmount. Although the capture of New York had been one of the objects of the French ministry, they had contrived by their instructions to Count Rochambeau to render it quite impracticable. They attached great importance to Rhode Island as a station, and directed that it should be held as a centre of operations. The count was therefore reluctant to withdraw his whole force from it; and with anything less than the whole, he would not think of attempting to take New York.

The naval force of Admiral Ternay, it was also urged, was inferior to those of Arbuthnot and Graves combined. His vessels, though heavier in metal, numbered scarcely more than one to three of the adverse fleet. It was also doubted whether there was depth of water on the bar sufficient to allow his largest vessels to enter the harbor of New York. This, it will be recollected, had deterred Count d'Estaing from prosecuting a similar enterprise, on his first arrival in the American waters.

All these points were fully and ably discussed on both

sides, and not without some feeling, as the correspondence shows, on the part of Lafayette. He entered with all the enthusiasm of his nature into the plans and wishes of Washington. He indulged at the same time a most laudable, patriotic pride, in reflecting that, in striking so important and decisive a blow as that which was now contemplated—a blow on which the great question of American independence might turn—the right arm of America would be the arm of France, stretched out by his persuasions, and bared for the conflict by his own example, influence, and efforts.

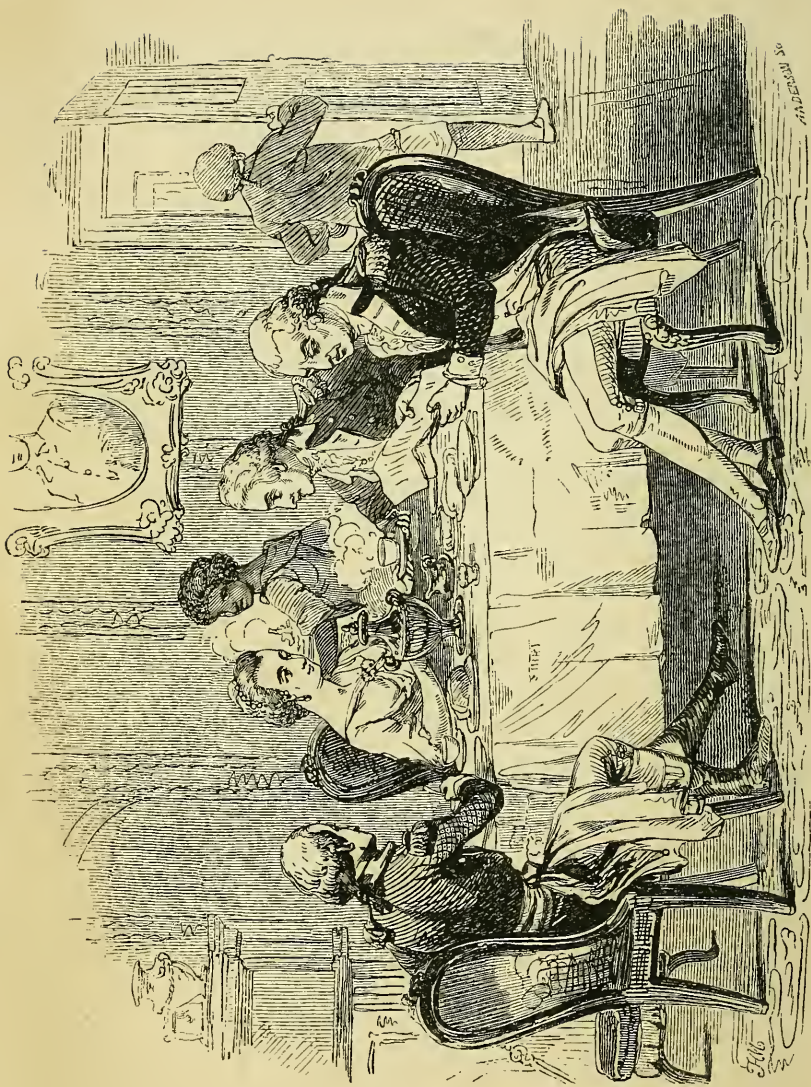
The French were eager for action. The enthusiasm of the soldiers was at its highest pitch. They could scarcely tolerate the idea of waiting in fruitless inaction for the arrival of the second division of the fleet and army, and Count Rochambeau's private feelings were in full sympathy with theirs. Admiral Ternay, however, who was completely blockaded at Newport, did not think it right, in any sense, to risk a general engagement, till the other ships should come. In expectation of their speedy arrival, and in the hope of hastening the issue, by a more complete understanding of the American positions and movements, they proposed a conference with General Washington, whom they regarded as their superior officer, and whose orders they were perfectly ready to obey. This proposal was assented to, but was not carried into effect until the latter part of September. Hartford, in Connecticut, was fixed upon as the place of meeting, being about equidistant from Washington's headquarters and the French station at Newport.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARNOLD'S TREASON—LAFAYETTE IN VIRGINIA.

THE campaign of 1780 was signalized, chiefly, by the defeat of General Gates in the southern department, and the treason of Arnold at West Point, which threw an inauspicious shade over the prospects of the American struggle. The latter event came to its crisis while Washington was at Hartford, whither he had gone, in company with Lafayette and Knox, to confer with Admiral Ternay and Count Rochambeau. Returning from this conference, he took the upper road to Fishkill, intending to visit West Point, for the double purpose of inspecting, and showing the fortifications to Lafayette, they having been constructed during his absence in France. They were detained at Fishkill several hours, by the chevalier de la Luzerne, the French minister, who was on his way to the headquarters of Count Rochambeau. This was on the 24th of September. On the morning of the 25th, the party was early on its way toward the headquarters of General Arnold, commonly known as "Robinson's house," on the east side of the river, several miles below West Point. The distance from Fishkill was eighteen miles. A message had been sent forward, that the party might be expected there to breakfast.

Arriving opposite West Point, General Washington turned suddenly into a narrow road leading to the river-



bank. Lafayette, on seeing it, called out, "General, you are going in a wrong direction. Mrs. Arnold will be waiting breakfast for us, and that road will take us out of our way." Washington replied, with his usual good-natured smile, "Ah! I know you young men are all in love with Mrs. Arnold, and the hope of breakfasting in her company gives spurs to your haste. You can ride on, and tell her not to wait for me, as I must first examine the redoubts on this side; but I will join you soon." Refusing to avail themselves of this permission, the officers accompanied their commander to the river, having first sent forward Colonels Hamilton and M'Henry to explain the cause of their delay.

On the arrival of the aids, Arnold sat down with them to breakfast. While seated at table, a messenger came in with a letter, which he opened and read in the presence of the company. It informed him of the capture of André, the consequent failure of his nefarious plot, and his own imminent danger. Not a moment was to be lost. With singular self-command, he concealed his emotions, which could only have been those of the most intense chagrin, disappointment, and apprehension, and immediately left the room; leaving word for General Washington that urgent business had called him suddenly to West Point, and that he would await his arrival at that place.

He had scarcely left the house, when Washington and his party came up. Partaking of a hasty breakfast, they followed his steps, as they supposed, to West Point, while in reality he was rapidly making his way down the river to the Vulture—a British frigate, lying below, through means of which he had been carrying on his treasonable correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton. Though surprised to learn from the commandant, not only that Arnold was not at West Point, but that

he had neither seen nor heard from him in two days, no suspicions appear to have been awakened in any mind, that all was not perfectly right at that important post. Having occupied an hour or two in a careful inspection of every part of the garrison, they returned to the other side of the river. As they approached Arnold's quarters, they were met by Colonel Hamilton, who had just received the fatal papers which disclosed the whole extent of the treason, and explained the mystery of Arnold's singular absence.

Communicating the contents of these papers only to Lafayette and Knox, with the melancholy inquiry, "Whom can we trust now?" Washington immediately despatched Hamilton to Verplanck's Point, to intercept, if possible, the retreat of the fugitive. But it was much too late. He had six hours the start of his pursuers, and was already safe under the protection of the British flag; which, while it shielded him from the vengeance of those whom he would have betrayed to its power, blushed for the villany it was compelled to cover, at the expense of the ignominious death of one of the worthiest and most accomplished officers of the royal army.

This was the most trying incident of the Revolution. In all the difficulties he had yet encountered, the American commander had been sustained by an unshaken confidence in the patriotism and fidelity of his officers. Arnold had received his full share of that confidence. His courage and skill as a general, of which he had given the most honorable proofs, would as soon have been suspected, as the sincerity of his devotion to a cause in which he had suffered so much, and to which he had rendered such signal services. Who, then, could be relied upon? The very ground on which they stood seemed to tremble under them, as with an earthquake. But Washington was firm and composed. He did not

suffer himself to doubt or suspect others, in consequence of this defection. Lafayette was his constant companion; a man who, being all frankness himself, scorned suspicion scarcely less than treason. To be the bosom-friend of Washington, at such a juncture, his confidant, his counsellor, was indeed an enviable privilege. This elevated position was Lafayette's, at the age of twenty-two.

The youthful general, weary of inactivity, and finding no prospect of active service in the field, projected a descent upon Staten island, to cut off a detachment of the British army stationed there, and secure the military stores. It was found impracticable, however, on account of the want of boats sufficient to transport the troops to the island. A still more extensive enterprise was then projected, viz.: an attack upon the British posts on the upper end of New York island. The zeal of the general, and his eagerness to be personally employed, were strongly and ably set forth in a letter to Washington, dated "Light Camp, October 30, 1780." His plan was well devised, and fortified by cogent arguments for its immediate execution, as well as by his own judicious arrangement of the details, and his sagacious anticipation of the difficulties that encompassed it. He claimed the post of danger; he was himself to lead the advance. The French legions were to co-operate in the enterprise. And it was no small part of Lafayette's ambition, in arranging the plan, to show the foreign allies what American soldiers and irregular militia could do, when put to the test; but his ambition was not gratified at this time, his wishes being overruled by the superior caution of the commander-in-chief.

General Gates having been recalled from the command of the southern department, General Greene was commissioned to take his place. Believing that the principal theatre of action, during the approaching cam-

paign, would be found in that quarter, and hoping for some active service there even in the winter, numerous applications were made by the gallant officers of the army, for appointments under General Greene. Among the number of these applicants was Lafayette. His letter to Greene, declaring his intention to solicit a command under him, is replete with those admirable sentiments which always actuated him, displaying a spirit in which a lofty personal ambition was always subservient to a loftier determination to consecrate all his powers to the general good. "You will have great difficulties to struggle with. Defeats are expected. But I am heartily willing to have my fate united to yours, and to share in anything, good or bad, that may happen to the troops under your command. By my temper and principles, I am bound to accept anything, and cheerfully to act upon any scale that a superior officer thinks fit for me; but you are not mistaken in believing that the command of a flying camp, composed of the horse and light-infantry of your army, will better please me than the honorable but less active command of a wing. In case the dispositions of the enemy make you wish that I should repair to any particular place, I will, on the least hint from you, ask leave from the general to fly there with the greatest despatch."

Having obtained permission to act in accordance with these promises, he had proceeded as far as Philadelphia, when his further progress was delayed by the desire of Congress, that he would assist in the negotiations then going on with the chevalier de la Luzerne, the French minister. These negotiations had reference to the employment of the French fleet, which was then on the West-India station, where it had gained some advantages over the British. It was under the command of the count de Grasse, an able and experienced commander,

and one full of zeal for the American cause. It was now proposed to invite his co-operation in an attack upon the British army at the south, as well as to cut off its communication with New York. Lafayette entered warmly into the plan, and used all his influence to forward it. When all the preliminaries were arranged, and he was at liberty to pursue his course, he turned his face once more toward Charleston, to join the army under General Greene.

At this moment, it was ascertained that Arnold, having received a part of "the wages of iniquity," in a commission as brigadier-general in the British army, was at the head of a detachment sent into Virginia, to levy contributions and plunder the defenceless inhabitants. He was acting the part of a savage bandit, rather than that of a soldier, carrying fire and sword wherever he went, and ravaging the property of Americans, more to gratify private revenge, than to derive to himself or his troops any substantial benefit. He landed at Westover, on the James river, in January, 1781, and proceeded, with rapid strides, to Richmond, where he destroyed an immense amount of public and private property. Baron Steuben, who was in the vicinity with a considerable force, watched his movements, and followed him closely in his retreat, till he arrived at Portsmouth. Steuben, who could not dislodge the traitor from this post, was able to confine him there, while he sent for reinforcements, in the hope of cutting him off, or getting possession of his person.

On the receipt of this intelligence, Lafayette was immediately directed to proceed to Virginia, at the head of twelve hundred light-infantry, selected from the lines of New England and New Jersey. The headquarters of the army were then in the highlands of New York. Making a feint, by way of diversion, toward Staten island, he moved off, by forced and rapid marches, to the head

of Elk, the northernmost point of the Chesapeake, where he arrived on the 3d of March, being three or four days earlier than had been anticipated. Here he embarked, with his men, in a little squadron of small boats, and dropped silently down to Annapolis, a distance of about sixty miles. Leaving his troops at this place, to await the arrival of promised reinforcements from the French fleet, he set out in a canoe, with a few officers, to join Baron Steuben, and to summon to his aid a portion of the Virginia militia, and thus hold himself in instant readiness for the arrival of the French troops. Safely eluding the vigilance of the English frigates then stationed in the bay, he proceeded to Williamsburg, on the York river, a distance of more than one hundred miles. Here he was joined by several companies of volunteer militia, hastily brought together, from their farms and workshops, to meet the sudden emergency. The utmost eagerness and spirit were manifested, which no service could have raised to a greater height of enthusiasm, than that which promised to secure the person of the traitor Arnold.

Arnold's position at Portsmouth not having been fully reconnoitred, Lafayette proceeded in person to Suffolk. General Muhlenberg, who was in command at this place, was advised to advance his camp somewhat nearer to the enemy's lines; which being done, he proceeded, with Lafayette and a small body of troops, to take a more particular view of the British defences. This brought on a trifling skirmish, but resulted in nothing important to either party. The next day, the 20th of March, advices were received from Hampton that a fleet had come to anchor within the capes. Supposing this to be the expected reinforcement, under Admiral Destouches, the Americans were greatly elated with the assured prospect of a successful issue to their enterprise.

Arnold, who was for some time of the same opinion, was thrown into great consternation; and, notwithstanding the signals made by the advancing fleet, dared not, at first, send out his pilots to give them welcome. To his great relief, however, and to the chagrin and disappointment of the besiegers, it proved to be the English fleet sent to the succor of the traitor. If there had been a sufficient naval force, in that quarter, to cut off his retreat, and prevent his receiving this reinforcement by water, he would inevitably have fallen into the hands of Lafayette.

Most unfortunately for this enterprise, the French fleet, which sailed from Newport to co-operate with Lafayette, encountered a British fleet off the capes of Virginia. A sharp conflict ensued, with no decisive results; but the French admiral, finding his vessels much damaged, and deeming it imprudent, in so shattered a condition, to proceed in the face of a considerably superior force, while there were also other British frigates in the Chesapeake, returned at once to Newport, for repairs. By this accident, Lafayette was deprived of the means of transporting and protecting his troops down the bay to the scene of action; while, at the same time, Arnold was relieved by the accession of General Phillips, with two well-appointed regiments of British infantry. Heartily as the British general-in-chief despised Arnold, he was no sooner made aware of the southward movement of Lafayette, than he despatched this force to his relief. As it was accompanied by a superior officer, who would supersede Arnold in the command, it is not improbable that his new masters suspected his fidelity, well knowing that he who was capable of betraying one sacred trust, was accessible to temptation in respect to another.

The English were now masters of the Chesapeake. Several of the smaller class of ships were stationed in

the bay, and it was no easy matter for an American flotilla to escape their vigilance. Notwithstanding this, however, Lafayette succeeded not only in reaching Annapolis in safety himself, but in retransporting his troops from that place to the head of Elk. This he accomplished by means of a *ruse*, which, though it could hardly have been attempted in serious earnest, proved, singularly enough, entirely successful. Two vessels, one of eighteen and another of twenty guns, blockaded the harbor of Annapolis, determined to prevent his movements. "In these circumstances," he says, in his letter to Washington, "I had two eighteen pounders put on board a small sloop, which appeared ridiculous to some, but proved to be of great service. On the morning of the 6th, Commodore Nicholson went out with the sloop and another vessel full of men. Whether the sound of eighteen pounders, or the fear of being boarded, operated upon the enemy, I am not able to say; but, after some manœuvres, they retreated so far as to render it prudent for us to sail. Every vessel, with troops and stores, was sent in the night by the commodore, and I brought up the rear with the sloop and another vessel."

Lafayette was about marching his detachment back to the headquarters of the army, when he received, on the 8th of April, an order from General Washington to turn southward again, in order to co-operate with General Greene against Lord Cornwallis, who, it was now supposed, would be joined by Phillips and Arnold. The troops under his command, who were all from New England and New Jersey, were exceedingly reluctant to acquiesce in this movement, and, indeed, were hardly in a condition to undertake a new enterprise so far from home. Most of them were poorly clad, and in their winter clothing, and had large arrears of pay due to them. Some of the officers were so situated, with respect to

their domestic affairs, that Washington made provision to relieve them at once. The men, feeling that their own concerns were equally urgent, and seeing no reason why they should not be regarded with as much favor as their leaders, showed signs of great discontent. Many deserted. In this emergency, besides employing the rigorous measures commonly resorted to, to punish those of the runaways who were caught, Lafayette, with his accustomed generosity, relieved the necessities of his troops from his own purse. Borrowing from the merchants of Baltimore, on his own private credit, ten thousand dollars, payable in two years, he expended it all in clothes, shoes, hats, &c. Thus relieved, they marched forward, with alacrity, to join the southern army.

To his despatch to the commander-in-chief, which details the circumstances just narrated, General Lafayette added a postscript, which is too complimentary to the courage, endurance, and patriotic spirit of the mass of his soldiers, to be passed by unnoticed. Having said in the body of his letter that, in consequence of the measures adopted, desertion was lessened, he adds:—

“P. S.—The word *lessened* does not convey a sufficient idea of what experience has proved to be true, to the honor of our excellent soldiers. It had been announced in general orders that the detachment was intended to fight an enemy far superior in number, under difficulties of every sort. This the general was, for his part, determined to encounter, but such of the soldiers as had an inclination to abandon him, might dispense with the danger and crime of desertion, as every one of them who should apply at headquarters for a pass to join their corps at the north, might be sure to obtain it immediately.”

This appeal roused all the pride and enthusiasm of

the corps. After this, not a man was willing to leave his general on any pretence ; and one of the subordinate officers, who was so disabled by a wound in his leg as to render it impossible for him to proceed on foot, hired a wagon, at his own expense, to enable him to follow the detachment.

Strengthened by a volunteer company of dragoons from Baltimore, composed of the *élite* of the young men of the city, Lafayette pushed forward with such ardor and celerity, that he entered Richmond the day before the British troops under General Phillips made their appearance at Manchester, on the opposite bank of the James river. The British commander was aware of his approach, but did not suppose it possible he could reach the capital so soon. He was not less surprised than disappointed, therefore, to find it so occupied and defended as to render it prudent for him to retire.

By a singular coincidence, Lafayette was now brought into immediate conflict with the same British officer before whom his father had fallen, twenty-three years before. It will be remembered that the noble marquis was born to orphanage, his father having been mortally wounded at Minden, a few months before his birth. The battery which he was engaged in storming was defended by this same General Phillips, then a captain of artillery ; and it was one of the balls discharged by his order that killed the colonel marquis de Lafayette, at the early age of twenty-four.

Richmond was a place of great importance to both parties. A large amount of stores and ammunition had been collected there by the state of Virginia, since the incendiary visit of Arnold at the close of the previous year. It was also rich in other property, which the invaders seemed to take particular pleasure in destroying. In their progress hitherto, they had ravaged the country,

burnt the storehouses of every description, and destroyed tobacco to the amount of more than ten thousand hogsheads. The mean spirit of Arnold delighted in this species of malicious revenge upon the Americans. On his return to the north, he pursued the same dastardly business in many of the small towns and seaports of New England, carrying fire and desolation to the defenceless villages, but rarely exposing himself to the fire of American rifles.

At Richmond, Lafayette formed a junction with Baron Steuben, by which his force was augmented to more than three thousand men. It was still nearly one thousand less than that of the enemy, which was composed of disciplined and well-appointed veterans, while two thirds of his own were raw militia, and the remainder, though regulars, miserably clad and equipped. Notwithstanding this inferiority, General Phillips did not deem it prudent to attack the city. He retreated down the river, burning, as he went, the exposed property of the citizens. Lafayette hung on his rear till he reached the Chicahominy, about eighteen miles below Richmond. Here he encamped. The British general, proceeding down the river as far as Hog island, was met by a letter from Lord Cornwallis, then retiring from North Carolina, directing him to take possession of Petersburg, where he would soon join him.

As soon as his adversary began, in compliance with these orders, to reascend the James river, Lafayette returned to Richmond, supposing that was again the object to be aimed at. On his arrival there, he learned that Cornwallis was moving northward. Phillips at the same time commenced landing his troops at Brandon. Perceiving in a moment that the two armies were about to form a junction below him, Lafayette made the utmost despatch to gain possession of Petersburg. But Phillips,

who was nearer that point than he, frustrated his design. The marquis, therefore, returned hastily to Richmond, and commenced removing the military stores to places of greater security.

While reconnoitring the enemy's position at Petersburg, and engrossing his attention in that quarter, Lafayette succeeded in sending off, unobserved, by another route, a considerable quantity of military stores for the southern army, of which General Greene was then in great need.

Four days after entering Petersburg, General Phillips died. His career, which had been one of great success, and had won him an enviable distinction in the royal army, was suddenly terminated by a fever. By this accident, the entire command of the British forces in Virginia devolved upon Arnold. With him Lafayette refused to hold any intercourse or correspondence. A letter which was sent to him, by a flag, at Richmond, he returned unopened, stating at the same time that if any of the British officers had written to him, he should have been happy to receive their letters, and to extend to them the courtesy rendered necessary by the loss of their commander. This conduct gave great pleasure to Washington and the American army, and added much to the embarrassment of Arnold in his new and difficult position.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA, OR THE BOY AND THE VETERAN.

ON the arrival of Lord Cornwallis at Petersburg, on the 20th of May, the British force was increased to about eight thousand men, veteran troops, more than one thousand of whom were mounted; while that of the Americans, under Lafayette, was less than three thousand, and the greater part of them militia. An easy conquest was confidently anticipated, and somewhat boastfully promised, in a letter from Cornwallis to Clinton, in which he remarked, "*The boy can not escape me.*" The result proved that neither age, nor experience, nor vastly superior numbers and appointments, could absolutely guarantee success. Cornwallis was a man of eminent military talents, with a reputation inferior to very few in the British service; but the "BOY," to whose capture or defeat he had proudly pledged himself, had within him, not only the soul and spirit of a full-grown man, but the prudence and skill of a veteran officer. It was the policy of his lordship to tempt his youthful adversary to open combat. The natural ardor and enthusiasm of that adversary, and his ambition to secure some brilliant achievement, on an occasion when everything depended upon him, gave tenfold influence to the tempting bait. But the risk was too great; and his singularly-mature judgment and manly prudence were proof against every

inducement to attempt anything which did not promise certain good to his cause.

On the 24th of May, Cornwallis moved up toward Richmond, where he was joined by a reinforcement just arrived from New York, and attempted to gain the rear of the American army. Lafayette, however, having removed the most valuable stores from that post, immediately abandoned it, and marched rapidly, but in excellent order, across the Chickahominy toward Fredericksburg, where he expected a battalion of the Pennsylvania line, under General Wayne, to join him. His movements were made with so much rapidity and caution, that Cornwallis, after pursuing him for some days, was compelled to give up the chase. Sending off two detachments, one under Colonel Simcoe, to the Point of Fork, at the confluence of the Rivanna and Fluvanna branches of the James river, to destroy the stores under the protection of Baron Steuben, and the other, composed of cavalry, under the celebrated Tarleton, to Charlottesville, to arrest or disperse the legislative assembly of Virginia, he moved slowly up, and threw himself between the position of Lafayette and Albemarle, where the greater part of the military stores removed from Richmond had been deposited. Simcoe succeeded in destroying a part of those at the point, and Tarleton frightened the legislature into a hasty adjournment, to meet the next day at Staunton, on the other side of the Blue Ridge, and about forty miles distant from Charlottesville.

General Wayne, with his battalion, having come up, Lafayette recrossed the Rapidon, and marched with so much celerity that he overtook the British army, while yet a day's march from Albemarle. Apprehending the object of this hasty movement, Cornwallis pitched his camp near the river, and advanced his light-troops to a position commanding the only known road by which

the Americans could pass. Here he confidently believed the young marquis would be obliged to fight, or retrace his steps even more hastily than he had advanced. In this he was disappointed. By means of his scouts, who were thoroughly acquainted with the country, Lafayette discovered, during the night, another road, which had long been disused, leading, by a shorter course, to Albemarle. This, with great energy and despatch, he caused to be cleared, and immediately, under cover of the darkness, drew off all his force in that direction. The next morning, to the unutterable chagrin and disappointment of the British general, the Americans had crossed the Rivanna, and taken up a strong position behind the Mechunck creek, considerably in advance of the British camp, and completely covering the stores, which had been the object of all these movements. Reinforced at this place by a body of mountain militia and a corps of riflemen, and strongly posted on commanding ground, Cornwallis did not venture to attack them, but retired, without striking a blow, first to Richmond and then to Williamsburg.

Lafayette followed with cautious circumspection. Taking care to keep the command of the upper country, and to avoid a general engagement, he held his main body between twenty and thirty miles in the rear of the foe, all the while harassing his flanks and picking off his outposts with his light detachments. On the 18th of June, he was joined by Baron Steuben, with nearly five hundred militia; making his whole force about four thousand men. By skilful management, he contrived to make the enemy believe his numbers to be much larger than they really were, so that he now sought rather to avoid than to provoke an engagement. A brilliant skirmish came off in the neighborhood of Williamsburg, between Colonels Butler and Simcoe, in which the former

claimed to have gained a decided advantage, though compelled, by the appearance of the whole British army, immediately to abandon the field.

Cornwallis, having orders to send off a portion of his troops to New York, found it necessary, as a matter of prudence, to retire from Williamsburg, and seek a stronger position at Portsmouth, where, also, he might be protected or relieved by a British fleet. In pursuance of this resolution, he crossed over to Jamestown, a part of his force taking immediate possession of the island, while the greater part remained, in ambuscade, upon the northern bank of the river. These dispositions were made with the hope of deceiving Lafayette, who followed close on his rear, intending to make a spirited attack when the main body should have passed over. But the quick eye of the sagacious youth instantly detected the artifice. The precautions taken to conceal the force on the mainland, and the singular display of those on the island, led him to suspect a *ruse*. His officers, generally, were of opinion that the movement was not a feigned one, and that the circumstances favored an immediate attack. To satisfy his own doubts on this point, he proceeded in person to reconnoitre the enemy's position, from a tongue of land which jutted into the river a short distance above. Here the whole movement of his enemy was disclosed; the major part of his force being found compactly disposed on the bank of the river, under cover of a blind or artificial thicket, which had been promptly transplanted for the purpose.

Returning hastily to the camp, he found General Wayne already engaged with the enemy. His pickets being easily forced and driven back, the Americans had been drawn into the snare, and were pushing boldly forward, to overtake and capture the flying guards, when suddenly they encountered the whole British army, drawn up in

order of battle. Wayne, who was never appalled by odds, deemed the boldest course the most prudent one. Accordingly, he ordered his small detachment instantly to charge the enemy. Dashing vigorously on, to follow up this order, a warm action ensued, in the midst of which Lafayette arrived on the ground. Perceiving the unequal nature of the conflict, and fearing that Wayne would be wholly cut in pieces, without effecting any good object, he ordered him immediately to retreat, and form in a line with the infantry, which was then drawn up about half a mile in the rear. As it was already night, this movement was executed with success, and with little loss beyond a few pieces of artillery. He then retired with the whole army to a station about six miles in the rear, and encamped.

Cornwallis had now learned something of the qualities of "the boy" he had to deal with. Suspecting this full retreat, immediately after so bold an onset, to be a mere stratagem to offset his own, and draw him into an ambuscade, he made no pursuit, but proceeded to entrench himself in his camp. During this encounter, Lafayette displayed not only a prudence and sagacity much above his years, but a degree of coolness and courage worthy of a veteran officer. His person was often greatly exposed. One of his horses was killed, but he escaped unhurt.

A few days after these events, Cornwallis pursued his route to Portsmouth. Lafayette, at the same time, withdrew to the forks of the York river, where he dismissed his militia, and sat down, with his comparatively small band of regulars, wearied and harassed with watching, marching, and countermarching, to take a little repose.

War has a code of morals peculiar to itself, and, among other things, admits of every species of artifice, and even falsehood, to deceive the enemy. Men who, in ordinary

cases, would sooner sacrifice a right hand than utter a deliberate lie, would not hesitate to *act* one, as a *ruse*, in time of war. While Cornwallis was retiring before Lafayette, under a false impression as to the extent of his force, the latter used every means in his power to keep up and strengthen that impression. He had taken into his service a very shrewd negro, whom he instructed to go into the enemy's camp and give himself up for protection. This task he performed so well, that Lord Cornwallis employed him as a spy, and sent him back. He was true to his first employer, however, and soon returned with new instructions. Lafayette wrote a fictitious order to General Morgan, requiring him to take his station with his corps at a certain post, in conjunction with the army. The paper was then torn and given to the negro, with directions how to proceed. When asked by Cornwallis what news he brought from the American camp, he replied that there was no news; that he saw no changes, but everything appeared as it was the day before. Holding the tattered paper in his hand, he was asked what it was, and replied that he had picked it up in the American camp, but that, as he could not read, he did not know that it was of any importance. Taking the fragments and putting them carefully together, the general was surprised at the development. He had not heard of Morgan's arrival, or of his being expected. It increased his caution, however, which was all the object Lafayette had in view.

Not long after this, while Cornwallis was employed in fortifying Yorktown, Lafayette inquired of Colonel Barber if he knew of a trusty, capable soldier, whom he could safely send as a spy into the British camp, and was referred to a man named Morgan, belonging to the New-Jersey line. The general sent for him, and told him that he had a very difficult task to propose to him, which was,

that he should pretend to desert, go over to the British camp, and enlist as a soldier. Morgan answered that he was ready to do anything to serve his country or oblige his general, but that his feelings revolted at such a proposal. He must assume the character of a spy, and, if detected, he would not only lose his life, but bring an everlasting disgrace upon his name. After some further conversation, however, he consented to go, on condition that, if any disaster should happen to him, the general should cause a true statement of the facts to be published in the New-Jersey Gazette, so that his family and friends might not be reproached for his supposed misconduct. He then went over to the British camp and enlisted.

Lafayette's object was twofold. He wished to gain accurate knowledge of the movements and intentions of the enemy, and to deceive them with respect to his own. Both armies were now on the north side of the James river. Some of the British officers had proposed a retreat southward into North Carolina. Lafayette supposed this would be attempted, and wished to prevent it, without risking an engagement. He therefore instructed Morgan particularly to give the impression that the Americans possessed all the necessary facilities for crossing the river at any moment. Morgan had been but a few days in camp when Cornwallis sent for him and asked him many questions. Tarleton was present at the interview, and took part in the conversation. Among other things, he inquired how many boats the "rebels" had on the river. Morgan replied that he did not know the exact number, but had been told that there were enough to carry over the whole army at a moment's warning. "There!" exclaimed Cornwallis, addressing Tarleton, "I told you this would not do."

About this time, the French fleet arrived. Lafayette had been out to reconnoitre. On his return, he found

Morgan at his quarters, in his British uniform, with five others in the same dress, and one green-coated Hessian. "Well, Morgan," asked the general, "whom have you here?"—"Five British soldiers, sir, who have deserted with me, and a Hessian whom we captured at the outpost," was his reply. In reward of his fidelity and services, Lafayette offered to make him a sergeant. Morgan was gratified to have pleased his general, but declined the promotion, saying that he believed himself to be a good soldier, but was not sure that he should make a good officer. The general then offered him money, but he refused it, saying that he did not need it. "What, then, can I do for you?" inquired Lafayette. "I have only one favor to ask, sir," was the reply. "During my absence, some person has taken my gun. It is an old friend, and I value it highly, and, if it can be restored, it will give me particular pleasure." The gun was described, found, and returned; and this was the only reward that Morgan could be prevailed upon to accept.

General Washington was at this time concerting with Count Rochambeau an attack on the British headquarters at New York. Expecting the most active service in that quarter, and earnestly desiring to be near Washington, Lafayette proposed that he should be permitted to join the army in the north, and leave the command in Virginia to Baron Steuben, who was a prudent and able general, and who had reluctantly yielded it to him, as his superior, when circumstances made it necessary. Before these matters could be well arranged, however, the aspect of things was considerably changed both in New York and in Virginia. Sir Henry Clinton had received reinforcements from Europe, and consequently countermanded his orders to Cornwallis, to forward a portion of his troops to New York. The latter general was now directed to renew the campaign in Virginia, by

taking a strong position on the Chesapeake, from which he might act efficiently against any of the neighboring states.

Selecting Yorktown as his principal post, with a secondary one at Gloucester point, on the opposite side of the river, Cornwallis proceeded to fortify it in the most approved manner. For this it offered many facilities, though the result proved that in one respect at least it was not well chosen, as it was easy to be invested, and too open on every side to afford facilities for retreat.

Nothing could have suited Lafayette better than this selection of his adversary. "Such," to use his own words, "had been the aim of all his movements, ever since a slight increase of force had permitted him to think of anything but retiring without being destroyed, and saving the magazines. He knew that a French fleet was soon to arrive from the islands. His principal object had been to force Lord Cornwallis to withdraw toward the seashore, and then entangle him in such a manner among the rivers, that there should remain no possibility of a retreat. The English, on the contrary, fancied themselves in a very good position, as they were possessors of a seaport, by which they could receive succors from New York, and communicate with different parts of the coast." This sense of security on their part was increased by an accident, which, though carefully guarded against, proved in the end most fortunate for the American cause. While Lafayette, full of hope, was writing to General Washington that he foresaw he could push Lord Cornwallis into a situation in which it would be easy for him, with some assistance from the navy, to cut off his retreat—the general-in-chief, who had always thought that Lafayette would be very fortunate if he could save Virginia, without being cut up himself, wrote to him freely of his projected attack on New York, grant-

ing him permission to take part in it, but, at the same time, representing how useful he had been, and might still be, in Virginia. The two letters passed each other in New Jersey. The one written by Lafayette arrived safely, and prepared Washington to take advantage of the peculiar situation of Lord Cornwallis. Washington's letter was intercepted, and immediately forwarded to Sir Henry Clinton. It was in Washington's own handwriting, and its friendly and confidential tone left no room to doubt that the next great move of the American army would be against New York. Every thought and effort was therefore concentrated to that point, and the army at Yorktown was deemed perfectly secure from any serious molestation.

At this juncture, Count de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake with a strong naval force, and three thousand troops for the land service. Colonel Gimat, a French officer under Lafayette, had been stationed at Cape Henry, in anticipation of this arrival. He immediately communicated to the count the latest intelligence from both departments of the army, requesting him, with as little delay as possible, to send up the troops to join Lafayette at Williamsburg, and so to blockade the river as to render the retreat of the British impossible.

Washington now perceived that the great and final blow was to be struck in his own native state, and immediately hastened thither with his French allies, and all the force that could be spared from the northern department. Meanwhile, Count de Grasse, whose engagements imperatively required that he should very soon return to the West-India station, strenuously urged upon Lafayette the necessity of an immediate attack on the British at Yorktown, without waiting for the arrival of the northern army. He offered to aid him, not only with all the marines of his fleet, but with as many seamen as he

should require. The marquis de St. Simon, an officer of great experience, who commanded the French troops, united with the admiral in pressing this measure. They represented that, the works of Cornwallis being incomplete, Yorktown and Gloucester might in all probability be carried by storm, if attacked by superior numbers. They also urged that it was quite just, after so long, fatiguing, and fortunate a campaign, that the glory of making Cornwallis lay down his arms should belong solely to him who had reduced him to that situation. The temptation was a very strong one, and there are few generals of his age, enthusiasm, and ambition, who would or could have resisted it. A full excuse for the attempt was found in the declaration of Count de Grasse, that his time was too limited to allow him to wait for the arrival of the troops from the north. Success in such an enterprise would have given unrivalled brilliancy to the military reputation of Lafayette, but would necessarily have cost much blood.

The noble spirit of the youthful general, though panting for fame in the honorable discharge of his duty, was superior to all the solicitations of selfishness. He refused to sacrifice the lives of his gallant men to the hope of personal glory, and finally persuaded De Grasse to await the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau, when the great object of their desires could be accomplished with far less waste of human life.

On the 14th of September, Washington arrived at Williamsburg, accompanied by Rochambeau, Chastellux, and the officers of his staff. Hastening, in company with Lafayette, on board the flag-ship of the admiral, a plan of operations was concerted, which, it was hoped, would bring the contest to a speedy issue. At this moment a cloud came over their prospects, from which the eloquence and influence of Lafayette alone preserved them.

Information having been received of a considerable accession to the British fleet, under Admiral Digby, the count de Grasse, regarding his situation in the Chesapeake as too confined, deemed it his duty to put to sea at once, with the hope of falling in with one part of the British force before they should concentrate in numbers superior to his own. He proposed leaving a few frigates to blockade York river, and prevent the escape of the British in that direction, and going immediately to New York, to attack the enemy in detail.

Feeling that such a movement would put to hazard all their present hopes and plans, and leave them exposed, in the absence of the fleet, to have their beleagured enemy drawn off by the arrival of a British naval force superior to that which it was proposed to leave behind, Lafayette was commissioned to use his utmost exertions to change the purpose of the count. Happily for the cause of the American confederacy and of freedom, he succeeded in his mission, and thus added another to the already numerous instances in which the talents, good sense, and earnest love for America, of this accomplished young man, were permitted to guide the current of events, and give a favorable turn to seemingly inauspicious circumstances.

Hitherto, Lafayette had been leader in all his operations in Virginia. He was now to act a subordinate, but not unimportant part, under the commander-in-chief. The siege of Yorktown, it is well known, was ably and obstinately conducted on both sides. It was of twenty days' duration, commencing on the 28th of September, and terminating on the 17th of October. The greater part of this time was occupied in preparations for the coming storm; the details of which belong rather to general history, or to the biography of the commander-in-chief, than to this work.

It was not until the 14th of October, that Lafayette was afforded an opportunity for active service. The second parallel of approaches was then completed, and the American batteries were opened within three hundred yards of the British lines. The men employed in finishing these works were exceedingly annoyed by an incessant and very effective fire from two redoubts, on the enemy's left, which, being advanced three hundred yards in front of their works, completely flanked this parallel, and enfiladed the whole line. It was absolutely necessary to silence these redoubts, and preparations were made, on the 14th, to carry them both by storm. The honor of achieving this brilliant exploit was divided between the Americans and their French allies. The baron de Viominil led on the grenadiers and chasseurs of France against one of the redoubts; while Lafayette, at the head of a detachment of American light-infantry, assaulted the other. The former indulged so warmly, in the presence of the latter, in self-gratulation on account of the boasted superiority of the French in an assault, that Lafayette was somewhat piqued. Regarding himself only as an American officer, proud of his adopted country, and confident that the men he had so often tried would not suffer by comparison with the veterans of the old world, he replied, with feeling: "We are but young soldiers, and we have but one sort of tactics on such occasions, which is, to discharge our muskets, and push on straight with the bayonet."

It was late in the day when the two detachments marched out to the assault. Conscious that they were generally observed, and regarded somewhat as rivals for the glory of a daring achievement, they both pushed on, with a bold front and a vigorous step, to the charge. Colonel Hamilton led the advanced corps of the Americans, while Colonel Laurens turned the redoubt, at the

head of a company of eighty men, in order to take the garrison in the rear, and intercept their retreat. Lafayette commanded the whole in person, and was foremost in the charge. Rushing on, without firing a gun, and without even allowing time for the sappers to clear the way, by removing the *abatis* and palisades, they entered the redoubt on all sides at the same time, and so completely surprised and overwhelmed its defenders, that the whole party, including Major Campbell, its commander, was made prisoners, with but little loss on either side.

The other redoubt proved to be more ably manned than this, and made a desperate resistance. It was assaulted with the greatest intrepidity, and carried, though with a loss of nearly one hundred men. The commandant escaped, with some of his men. Eighteen were killed, and forty-two made prisoners. After Lafayette had finished his work, and while the conflict was still raging furiously on the left, he despatched Major Barbour, one of his aids, to ask the baron if he did not wish for assistance from the Americans. The major was shot at and wounded, on the way, but, with admirable coolness, delivered his message before he would suffer his wound to be attended to. The proffered aid was declined as unnecessary, the brave Frenchmen having advanced so far as to render them sure of ultimate success. But the baron was obliged to acknowledge that his friend, the marquis, had most effectively retorted upon him the implied though undesigned contempt of the morning.*

* As one of the historians of that period has, gratuitously, and without a shadow of proof, reproached both Washington and Lafayette with the grossest inhumanity on this occasion, it would be wronging the memory of both those heroes to suffer any opportunity to pass, without disproving the slander. Mr. Gordon, in his *History of the American War*, has stated that orders were given by Lafayette, with the approbation of Washing-



Storming the Redoubt at Yorktown.—Page 134.

The captured redoubts were immediately included in the extended lines of the second parallel, and their guns turned upon the besieged. Lord Cornwallis, finding himself unable to sustain the tremendous fire now opened upon him, devised a bold and able plan of escape, by a bridge of boats over the York river; intending to force his way, by flying marches, to New York. A violent storm defeated his purpose, when considerable progress had been made in its execution. It is doubtful whether he could have succeeded, under the most favorable cir-

ton, that no quarter should be granted, but that, in retaliation for recent cruelties on the part of the British, every man in the redoubts should be put to the sword. These orders, he assures us, were given especially to Colonel Hamilton, who led the American advanced corps, who, more humane than his commanders, refused to execute them, and spared every man that remained after the surrender. The story was widely circulated, though always contradicted by all who had the means of knowing the truth. The following letter, written twenty years after, puts the calumny for ever at rest:—

“NEW YORK, *August 10, 1802.*

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST—SIR: Finding that a story, long since propagated, under circumstances which it was expected would soon consign it to oblivion, and by which I have been complimented at the expense of Generals Washington and Lafayette, has of late been revived, and has acquired a degree of importance, by being repeated in different publications, as well in Europe as America, it becomes a duty to counteract its currency and influence, by an explicit disavowal.

“The story imports, in substance, that General Lafayette, with the approbation or connivance of General Washington, ordered me, as the officer who was to command the attack on a British redoubt, in the course of the siege of Yorktown, to put to death all those of the enemy who should happen to be taken in the redoubt, and that, through motives of humanity, I forebore to execute the order.

“Positively, and unequivocally, I declare that no such or similar order was ever by me received, or understood to have been given, nor any intimation or hint resembling it.

“It is needless to enter into an explanation of some occurrences on the occasion alluded to, which may be conjectured to have given rise to the calumny. It is enough to say, that they were entirely disconnected with any act of either of the generals who have been accused.

“With esteem, I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

“A. HAMILTON.”

cumstances, as the presence of the French fleet afforded facilities of rapid movement and counteracting manœuvres, which the American commander had not often possessed.

This hope being abandoned, and the batteries of the second parallel completed and put into full operation, further resistance was useless. About ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 17th of October, Cornwallis proposed a cessation of hostilities, with a view to capitulation. This was immediately granted. On the morning of the second day after, the 19th, the terms were adjusted and the articles signed, "surrendering the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester point, with their garrisons, and the ships in the harbor, with their seamen, to the land and naval forces of America and France." The army, artillery arms, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, were surrendered to General Washington, and the ships and seamen to Count de Grasse. The prisoners, including seamen, exceeded seven thousand men. Five hundred and fifty-two had been killed during the siege.

It was thus the singular good fortune of Lafayette to act a most prominent and conspicuous part in the closing and decisive scene of the American Revolution. Opposed to vastly superior numbers, and to one of the ablest and most experienced generals in the British service, he had succeeded in escaping his best laid snares, foiling his most judicious arrangements, outmanœuvring his ablest and most rapid movements, harassing him in rear and flank, in all his marches, and finally, in partly driving and partly luring him into a corner, from which all his after-efforts were insufficient to extricate himself, and where he was compelled, at length, to lay down his arms. And so powerfully was his talented adversary impressed with the perseverance, skill, and gallantry, as

well as with the humane and lofty spirit of the youthful general, that he requested, as a favor, when the fortunes of war compelled him to capitulate, that he might be permitted to treat with him alone, and surrender his sword into his hands. To this, however, Lafayette himself objected, from motives of delicacy and regard to General Lincoln. That officer had been obliged, a few months before, to surrender to Lord Cornwallis, at Charleston, and to submit to terms more humiliating than are ordinarily required of those whose personal gallantry and able defence of their post entitle them to the respect of a generous enemy. Lafayette, therefore, magnanimously suggested that General Lincoln should receive the sword of Cornwallis, exacting precisely the same terms that had previously been required of him.

Cornwallis, either overcome with the fatigue and exertion of this ill-fated siege, or sick at heart with his sudden reverse of fortune, excused himself from appearing in person at the head of his vanquished army, and sent his sword by the hand of General O'Hara, who was next in command. This officer, no less reluctant than his superior, to surrender to an American, when the moment for the ceremony arrived, offered the weapon to General Rochambeau. The count, by a graceful gesture, referred him to Washington, remarking, that, as the French army was only auxiliary, it was from the American general that he should receive his orders. Washington declining to accept it, in pursuance of previous arrangement, it was courteously received by General Lincoln. In the subsequent ceremony of laying down their arms, the British soldiers manifested the same proud chagrin as their officers had done, in being compelled to submit to such a humiliation by those whom they had been taught to despise as rebels and cowards. To cover their mortification, in the act, they turned their

faces toward the French line, as if they would acknowledge them only as the conquerors; upon which Lafayette, by way of pleasant retaliation, ordered the bands to strike up "Yankee Doodle." The joke was apt, and stung them to the quick; and they flung down their arms with such violence that many of them were broken.

On receiving the glittering token of submission, General Lincoln instantly returned it to General O'Hara, with his compliments to Lord Cornwallis. Generals Washington, Rochambeau, and Lafayette, sent also, by their aids, to present their compliments and the tender of their friendly offices. Lafayette's aid, Major Washington, a nephew of the general, he detained, saying, that having made this long campaign against General Lafayette, he wished, from the high esteem he felt for him, and the value he set upon his good opinion, to give him a private account of some of the leading motives which had induced him to surrender. The next day Lafayette called to see him, at his quarters. It was an interesting interview. The "boy" and the man were face to face. The boy *had escaped*, and the man was his prisoner. With that unaffected courtesy and frankness which distinguish the true hero, Cornwallis gave free expression to the high regard and confidence which the singular ability and skill of his conqueror had won from him, and earnestly commended to his humane regards his army of prisoners. In doing this, he intimated some want of confidence in the kind dispositions of the Americans. This Lafayette immediately answered, by alluding to the past, and especially to the considerate kindness which had been shown to the army of Burgoyne, for he was too much of an American at heart, to allow himself to be complimented at their expense.

Hospitalities were now cordially exchanged between the American, French, and English officers, and mutual

health and prosperity were pledged in the social glass, and jokes were cracked, and laughter-moving stories told, as freely and heartily as if they had always been sworn friends and companions. Lafayette, who was usually grave and reserved, was often witty in conversation, and sometimes could not resist the temptation of a fair personal repartee. One day, at dinner, General O'Hara, conversing of recent events with the French generals, remarked, in a complimentary tone, that he considered himself fortunate in not having surrendered to American arms alone. "Probably," replied Lafayette, "General O'Hara does not like repetitions"—alluding to the fact that he was an officer in the army of Burgoyne.

CHAPTER X.

NEGOTIATIONS IN EUROPE.

LAFAYETTE's career of glory in America was now finished. Another expedition was concerted, against Wilmington, in North Carolina, the command of which was assigned to him ; but, as it required the co-operation of Count de Grasse and his fleet, which could not be secured, on account of his previous engagements with the Spanish fleet and their joint designs on the West Indies, it was abandoned. The negotiations for peace, which were soon after entered into, rendered his presence in America no longer necessary, while his services were, on that account, much needed in Europe. He therefore made preparations to return immediately home.

The part which he had acted in the war, and particularly in its closing scenes, had been peculiarly gratifying to Washington, who, in case of failure or disaster in that department, might have been censured for intrusting to so young an officer the hazardous experiment of encountering, under such great disparity of numbers, one of the most experienced and accomplished generals of the age. "Be assured, my dear marquis," said he, in a letter of that period, "your conduct meets my warmest approbation, as it must that of everybody. Should it ever be said that my attachment to you betrayed me into partiality, you have only to appeal to facts, to refute any such charge."

The count de Vergennes wrote to him in a similar strain

of unqualified gratulation and praise. "I have followed you, step by step," says he, "through your whole campaign in Virginia, and should often have trembled for you if I had not been confident in your wisdom. It requires no common ability and skill to enable a man to sustain himself, as you have done, and during so long a time, before such a general as Lord Cornwallis, who is lauded for his talents in war; and this, too, with such a great disproportion in your forces."

From Congress, from the several states, from literary institutions, and from assemblies of the people on every side, he received the most ample testimonials of the high sense universally entertained of his disinterested sacrifices in the cause of American freedom, and of the distinguished ability and success with which he had consecrated to it the flower of his manhood. The sentiment of admiring gratitude was deep, unanimous, and all-pervading. It followed him across the Atlantic, in prayers and blessings, which accompanied him in all his future trials and successes—bursting forth afresh from the hearts of a new generation, when, after the lapse of half a century, he returned again to the country of his adoption, to witness its giant growth, and receive the homage of its children.

It is difficult to estimate too largely the service rendered to our country by this singular young man. It was not merely his personal presence and action, his feats of gallantry, and the shedding of his blood on our behalf; all this, admirable as it was, connected with his uncommon maturity of judgment, his prudence and skill as an officer, and the fearless daring with which he faced the veteran foe at the head of a handful of raw, undisciplined militia, constitutes but a small part of his claims upon our grateful remembrance. This he shares in common with many others of his own countrymen, and

with Steuben, Kosciusko, De Kalb, and Pulaski, who did all that zeal and heroism could do, but who, at the same time, had little but zeal and heroism to bestow. The civil relations of Lafayette gave him immense power. His own private fortune was large, and wholly at his disposal. This, it has been seen, he did not hesitate to put to the twofold risk, first of confiscation to the crown of France for his bold assumption of the right of thinking and acting for himself, in the cause of another nation, and, second, of entire loss, by pledging the whole as security for the debts of a struggling and bankrupt people, whose need he constantly met by drawing upon its income for the relief of the pressing wants of the army. A volunteer in the cause of liberty, he sought no remuneration ; he asked only the honorable opportunity of distinguishing himself in her struggles.

But his greatest service was rendered in the influence, direct and indirect, of his name and character. It was this, more than all other influences, that procured for us the alliance of France, resulting not only in subsidies to the amount of twenty millions, to replenish our exhausted coffers, but in an army and navy, without whose co-operation the great work of American independence could never have been achieved.

To the gratitude and love of America, it was his singular felicity, at this period, to know that the entire approbation of his king and country was added. Of this, the following testimonial, received on the eve of his departure, is sufficient evidence :—

“THE MARQUIS DE SEGUR TO M. DE LAFAYETTE.

“*December 5, 1781.*

“The king, sir, having been informed of the military talents of which you have given such multiplied proofs, while commanding the different corps of the army that has been confided to you in the United States ; of the

wisdom and prudence that have guided you in the various decisions you were called upon to take respecting the interests of the United States ; and of the great confidence with which you have inspired General Washington ; his majesty has desired me to tell you, that the praises you have so justly merited on such various occasions have fixed his attention, and that your conduct and successes have made him conceive the most favorable opinion of you—such a one as you might yourself desire, and from which you may depend on his future kindness. His majesty, in order to give you a very flattering and peculiar mark of this intention, renews to you the rank of field-marshal in his armies, which you are to enjoy as soon as the American war shall be terminated, at which period you will quit the service of the United States, to re-enter that of his majesty.

“In virtue of this decision, sir, you may be considered as field-marshal, from the date of the signature of the capitulation, after the siege of Yorktown, by General Cornwallis, the 19th of October, of this year, on account of your fulfilling, at that time, the functions belonging to the rank in the troops of the United States of America.

“His majesty is disposing, at this moment, of his regiment of dragoons, of which he had kept for you the command until the present time.

“I beg you to be convinced of the pleasure I experience in this act of his majesty’s justice, and of the wish I feel to prove to you on every occasion the sincere attachment with which I have the honor of being, &c.,
“SEGUR.”

Thus did a second triumph await him in returning to his native France. The Alliance, the same ship that took him home on his previous visit, was placed at his disposal again. He landed at L’Orient, on the 17th of January, 1782. Hastening to Versailles, he was greeted

by the people on the way, with enthusiastic welcome. He was received by the king with the most flattering marks of approval. He was complimented and feasted, wherever he went. But the queen, while she admired the man, and felt justly proud of him as a Frenchman, could never disguise her opposition to the American alliance.

Negotiations for peace, between Great Britain and her revolted colonies, proceeded at a moderate pace. Hostilities were not wholly suspended. The two contending armies were still in the field, and liable to be brought into bloody conflict at any moment. The city of New York, with a few other places of less importance, at the north, were in the actual possession of the English. At the south, the Carolinas presented a theatre of active warfare, on which the talented and excellent Greene was winning the hard-earned laurels of fame. The people of England favored a peace, but the king and his ministers obstinately opposed it. The crowned heads of the continent interposed their good offices to hasten the consummation of a treaty, one after another, enforcing their views by recognising the independence of the United States, and concluding with them treaties of amity and commerce.

Meanwhile, every preparation was made, on the part of Congress and the commander-in-chief, for the continued vigorous prosecution of the war. In the furtherance of these measures, they were zealously and ably assisted by Lafayette. All the powers of his mind, and all his personal influence, were unremittingly consecrated to the interests of America. From the commanding position which he now occupied, he was enabled to operate on a wide and extended sphere, among the great ones of the earth. The unlimited confidence which Congress reposed in him, had induced that body to instruct the American

ministers and agents, in every part of Europe, to communicate all their affairs to him, and to consult with him on all occasions. He took an active part in all their negotiations with the English envoys; but finding them altogether too slow and undecided to meet his views, he resolved on more active measures to bring the matter to a favorable issue. By his suggestion and advice, the courts of France and Spain resolved on a combined expedition, having for its object the entire overthrow of the British power in America. An overwhelming naval force, selected from the fleets of both nations, was to proceed to the West Indies, and seize all the English colonies. It was to carry an army of twenty thousand Spanish and French soldiers; six thousand of the latter of whom, after completing the conquest of the islands, were to be landed at some point in the United States, from which they could conveniently reach and overrun Canada.

The arrangements for this formidable expedition were nearly completed. Count d'Estaing was appointed generalissimo of the land and sea forces, a post which he accepted on the express condition that General Lafayette should accompany him, as chief of the staff of the combined armies—a title equivalent to adjutant-general in the American army. This arrangement was readily made; but another, proposed at the same time by the count, that Lafayette should be named governor of Jamaica, in the event of a conquest, was emphatically rejected by the king of Spain. “No!” replied the old monarch, with some warmth, “*I will not consent to that. He would make it a republic.*”

In communicating to General Washington these plans, he thus expressed his thorough American feeling: “Though I am to re-enter the French line as field-marshal, from the date of Lord Cornwallis’s surrender, I will,

however, keep my American uniform, and the outside, as well as the inside, of an American soldier. I will conduct matters, and take commands, as an officer borrowed from the United States, as it were occasionally, and will watch for the happy moment when I may join our beloved colors."

His correspondence with the French minister, Vergennes, and with Carmichael, the American agent at Madrid, evinces the same depth and intensity of American spirit, together with a coolness and maturity of judgment, and a reach of thought, rarely if ever seen in a man of his age. "Shall we now have peace," he asks, "or must we fight before we can come to a proper understanding? *My grand affair appears settled, for America is certain of her independence, humanity has gained her cause, and* LIBERTY WILL NEVER BE WITHOUT A PLACE OF REFUGE. May our present success cause a general peace, and France resume her rank and advantages! I shall then be perfectly happy, for I am not yet philosopher enough not to take a very warm private interest in public affairs."

Embarking at Brest, in the early part of December, 1782, General Lafayette proceeded to join Count d'Estaing, at Cadiz. He was accompanied by four battalions of infantry, an equipage of artillery, and five thousand recruits. He had stipulated that these troops should be placed, as a detachment, under his command, after the reduction of the West India islands, and conveyed to the continent, that he might, at length, have an opportunity of carrying out the project, long before intrusted to him by Congress, of invading Canada—an expedition which he had never lost sight of, notwithstanding the unfavorable auspices under which it was first commended to his attention.

This grand enterprise, to be conducted by the flower of

the armies and navies of France and Spain, would have assembled at the islands sixty-six ships-of-the-line, and twenty-five thousand men. The corps of Count Rochambeau was to join them from some port of Spanish America. The French troops of the camp of Saint Roch, under Baron Falkenheim, and a fine division of six thousand Spaniards, commanded by General Las Casas, were assembled at Cadiz. The staff was composed equally of French and Spanish officers, of great merit and distinction. The secret destination of the armament was only known to the generalissimo and the chief of the staff. All things were ready, and the fleet was on the eve of departure, when despatches were received, announcing the joyful intelligence that preliminaries of peace had been arranged at Paris.

So happy was Lafayette in this event, and so eager to share in the joy which it would diffuse among his friends in America, that he would have hastened himself to convey the grateful tidings, if he had not been assured by the American minister, that his presence and influence in Europe were still necessary to insure the full success of the negotiations. That no time might be lost, however, he applied immediately to Count d'Estaing, requesting him to despatch, on the moment, a fast-sailing vessel, to carry the news. His request was instantly granted. *Le Triomphe* was placed at his disposal; and with such right good will did she plough the waves of the Atlantic, on her errand of peace, that she was the first to cast the olive-branch on our bleeding shores. She arrived at Philadelphia, on Sunday, the 23d of March, 1783. Hostilities were immediately suspended, by land and sea. The sword was turned at once into a ploughshare, and the voice of rejoicing and of thanksgiving went up from every dwelling in the land. And to Lafayette was accorded the high satisfaction, not only

of forwarding those negotiations which led to this happy result, but of conveying the earliest possible notice of it to America, and thereby arresting the effusion of blood at an earlier day, by more than two months, than it would have been done by the ordinary official despatches.

When Lafayette arrived at Madrid, he found the negotiations, which were then in progress with Spain, in a manner suspended, by the absence of Mr. Jay. Mr. Carmichael had not been officially recognised. Lafayette was touched on both sides of his heart by this coldness. His American pride was wounded by the slight shown to her accredited representative. His sensibilities as a Frenchman were wounded, by the appearance of suing from the court of Spain, with more humility than was meet, the recognition which France had already so cheerfully given. Addressing a letter to Mr. Carmichael, under date of January 20, 1783, he had said: "To France you owe a great deal; to others you owe nothing. As a Frenchman, whose heart is glowing with patriotism, I enjoy the part France has acted, and the connexion she has made. As an American, I acknowledge the obligation; and in that, I think, true dignity consists. But dignity forbade our sending abroad political forlorn hopes; and I ever objected to the condescension; the more so, as the French treaty had secured their allies to you, and because America is more likely to receive advances, than to need throwing herself at other people's feet. Peace is likely to be made. How, then, can the man, who advised against your going at all, propose your remaining at a court where you are not decently treated. Congress does not intend that their dignity shall be trifled with."

In connexion with this subject, he had a conference with the Spanish minister, on his arrival at Madrid, in which he declared, that if, on the following Saturday, the

day fixed for the reception of ambassadors, Mr. Carmichael was not presented as the chargé d'affaires of the United States, they should both leave Spain immediately, and that, for a length of time, no envoy from America should be seen at Madrid. This had the desired effect. A few days after, he went, in person, to Pradô, the king's country-seat, and presented Carmichael. The result was all that was desired. The independence of the United States was formally recognised by Spain about four weeks after. It was one of the most important objects to be sought for in Europe. As Spain had large colonial possessions in America, including the Floridas, Louisiana, and the command of the navigation of the Mississippi, nothing could be more desirable to the interests of the United States, than friendly relations and a definite commercial treaty with that power. For securing these benefits, without vexatious and injurious delays, we were indebted mainly to the firmness and decision of Lafayette, and to that remarkable personal influence and popularity that made him, while only twenty-five years of age, the counsellor of kings and cabinets, and the confidential agent of nations.

A letter written at this juncture from Cadiz, is so strongly marked with the characteristic ardor, simplicity, benevolence, and patriotism of the writer, as well as with the sagacity and foresight for which he was distinguished, that it can not be wholly omitted, without marring the integrity of the narrative. It was addressed to General Washington, February 5, 1783:—

“MY DEAR GENERAL: Were you but such a man as Julius Cæsar, or the king of Prussia, I should be almost sorry for you at the end of the great tragedy, where you are acting such a part. But, with my dear general, I rejoice at the blessings of a peace, where our noble ends have been secured. Remember our Valley-Forge times,

and from a recollection of past dangers and labors we shall better appreciate our present comfortable situation. What a sense of pride and satisfaction I feel when I think of the times that determined my engaging in the American cause. As for you, who can truly say you have done all this, what must your virtuous and good heart feel, on the happy instant, when the Revolution you have planned is firmly established. I can not but envy the happiness of my grandchildren, when they shall celebrate your name, to have had one of their ancestors among your soldiers. To know that he had the good fortune to be the friend of your heart, will be the eternal honor in which they shall glory; and to the eldest of them, as long as my posterity may last, I shall delegate the favor you have been pleased to confer upon my son George — (to be called by your name).

“At the first opening of the prospect of peace I had prepared to go to America—but, on a sudden, have been obliged to defer my darling plan, from political considerations. In June I shall embark. Happy, ten times happy, shall I be in embracing my dear general, my father, my best friend, whom I love with an affection and respect which I too well feel, not to know that it is impossible for me to express it.

“Now, my dear general, that you are about to enjoy some repose, permit me to propose a plan for elevating the African race. Let us unite in purchasing a small estate, where we may try the experiment to free the negroes, and use them only as tenants.* Such an example as yours, would render the practice general. And if we should succeed in America, I will cheerfully devote a part of my time to render the plan fashionable in the

* To this Washington replied: “I shall be happy to join you in so laudable a work.” It was subsequently attempted, as will be seen in the sequel.

West Indies. If it be a wild scheme, I would rather be mad in that way, than be thought wise on the other tack.

“I am so anxious to hear from you, and to let you hear from me, that I have sent my own servant, with a vessel, to be set ashore on the coast of Maryland.

“Your influence, my dear general, can not now be better employed than in inducing the people of America to strengthen the federal union. Depend upon it, European politics will be apt to create divisions among the states. Now is the time when the powers of Congress must be fixed, the boundaries determined, and the Articles of Confederation revised. It is a work in which every well-wisher to America must desire to be concerned. It is the finishing stroke that is wanting to the perfection of the temple of liberty.

“As to the army — what will be its fate? I hope their country will be grateful. Will part of the army be kept together? If not, we shall not, I hope, forfeit our noble title of officers and soldiers in the American army; so that, in case of danger, we may be called upon from every quarter, and reunite in defence of a country which the army has so effectually, so heroically saved. I long to know what measures will be taken.”

Washington's reply was dated April 5th. “It is easier for you to conceive,” he says, “than for me to express, the sensibility of my heart at the communications of your letter of the 5th of February from Cadiz. It is to these communications we are indebted for the only account yet received of a general pacification. My mind, upon the receipt of this intelligence, was instantly assailed by a thousand ideas, all of them contending for pre-eminence; but, believe me, my dear friend, none could supplant, or ever will eradicate, the gratitude which has arisen from a lively sense of the conduct of your nation, and from my obligations to many of its illus-

trious characters of whom, I do not mean flattery, when I place you at the head.

On his return to Paris, Lafayette devoted all his talents, energies, and influence, to advancing the interests of the United States. His object was, to procure for them a commercial treaty with France, which should put them upon the most favorable footing. To this end, in addition to other stipulations, he proposed that four of the ports of France should be free to all American vessels—one in the Mediterranean, two on the Atlantic shore, and one on the British channel. The perseverance and ability with which he prosecuted this scheme, and the success of his endeavors, are proof sufficient, of his zeal for America, and of his influence in France. The ports thus thrown open to the vessels of the United States, were Marseilles, Bayonne, L'Orient, and Dunkirk. Three of them were to be absolutely free for the importation and exportation of "all merchandises, as well foreign as domestic," without the payment of any duty whatever. Marseilles was to be equally so, with respect to all articles except tobacco, which was there subject to a duty. This concession was no less a favor to the ports thus made free, than to America. So sensible was Bayonne of the benefit, and so grateful to the author of it, that the name of Lafayette, by a special ordinance, was inscribed among those of its citizens.

CHAPTER XI.

VISIT TO AMERICA IN 1784.

WHEN these public concerns were all arranged, and he felt that he had done all that was then in his power to do in Europe, for the furtherance of the interests of America, Lafayette turned his thoughts to the indulgence of a private feeling, which he would gladly have gratified at an earlier day. It was the strongest wish of his heart to meet once more his comrades in arms, and congratulate them on the complete success which had now crowned their efforts. To this he had been earnestly solicited by Washington, and other friends on this side the Atlantic. To Madame Lafayette also, a warm-hearted urgent invitation was sent to accompany her husband, and share in the grateful homage which all were eager to render to his virtues. "You must have a curiosity," he says, "to see the country, young, rude, and uncultivated as it is, for the liberties of which your husband has fought, bled, and acquired much glory, where everybody admires, and everybody loves him. Come, then, let me entreat you, and call at my cottage-home, for your own doors do not open to you with more readiness than mine would."

To this kind invitation, the worthy lady could only send an apology, by the hand of her husband. He embarked at Havre on the first of July, 1784, and arrived at New York on the fourth of August. Important as New York then was, has since been, and will ever con-

tinue to be to the United States, Lafayette had never before seen it, except from the opposite bank of the river. During the entire period of his military service, it was held by the British as their headquarters, and centre of operations. He had often hoped, during that long struggle, to enter it at the head of a victorious band of assailants, and drive the enemy out. He now entered it in triumph—a triumph more glorious than that of the victorious hero, marching through blood, and fire, accompanied with the groans of the dying and the din of battle. It was the triumph accorded by the heart of a nation to one of its deliverers. He was received with open arms, and greeted with a universal welcome.

From New York he proceeded to Philadelphia, where a similar reception awaited him. But such was his eagerness to reach Mount Vernon, and embrace his “beloved general,” that he could not stay to receive the welcomes of the people in other places. To describe his meeting with Washington, and the residence of twelve days at his house, would be a vain attempt. Under similar circumstances, two such men had never met—their work accomplished—their triumph achieved—their hopes realized—one, a venerable patriarch, the father of his country, laden with the honors of a grateful people, and the homage of a world—the other, a youth, in the very prime and morning of his manhood, who, like a son by the side of his father, had assisted in achieving the fortune and fame of both. Each, emphatically, *the man of the age*—one for emancipated America, the other for oppressed and struggling Europe—they were the embodiment of the great spirit of revolution and progress in two hemispheres, scarcely less admired by their enemies, than beloved by their friends.

It is rarely given to the principal agents in the grand reforms of this world, to witness and enjoy the ripe fruits

of their labors. But Washington and Lafayette were enabled to sit down in peace, to the full realization of their hopes, and see around them a nation, disenthralled through their exertions, springing up to life and freedom. Had they been men of a grasping selfish ambition, we might easily lift the curtain, and read aloud their schemes of personal advantage and the specious arithmetic by which they would so divide the spoil as to secure all but the refuse to themselves. Had they been Alexanders, or Cæsars, Fredericks, or Napoleons, with millions of untaught slaves, and a standing army at their feet, we might read the story of their interview on a thousand pages of history. But, being such as they were, in the midst of thirteen free and independent states, with three millions of intelligent, thinking freemen around them—their victorious army disbanded—their own commissions thrown up—their power and patronage voluntarily relinquished—every sword by which they had achieved freedom's battle, turned into a ploughshare, every bayonet into a sickle, every soldier into a husbandman, every man into a sovereign—here was a scene which the muse of history had never before had opportunity of portraying, and which, perhaps, the pen of a Lamartine may fitly undertake to describe.

From Mount Vernon he returned northward, visiting the principal cities in each of the states, rejoicing in the indisputable signs of enlarged prosperity which greeted him on every side, and receiving everywhere the most cordial and exalted testimonials of a nation's gratitude and esteem.

The influence of Lafayette, as a Frenchman, with the northern Indians, had been felt in the progress of the war, and was especially illustrated during his temporary residence at Albany. That influence was again called into exercise on this occasion. Commissioners being

about to proceed to Fort Schuyler, to negotiate a treaty with the Mohawk and Seneca tribes, he was requested to accompany them. The Indians had given him the name of Kayoula, which had belonged to one of their most distinguished chiefs. They listened to his words as to one of their own chiefs in council. And, through his influence with them, the terms of the treaty were easily adjusted, and one cause of solicitude in relation to the northern border removed. "Let the ears of Kayoula," said the chief of the Mohawks, "let the ears of Kayoula, the war-chief of the great Ononthio,* be opened to receive our words. We love to hear thy voice; it does us good, and never wounds our hearts. Thy words are truth. Thy predictions have been accomplished. We remember the words thou didst speak to us seven suns ago. They have all been verified. Thy words to-day shall be proclaimed among the six nations. They will strengthen the chain of friendship which we trust will endure for ever."

From this place, he traversed the states of New England. In every town, village, and hamlet, through which he passed, he was hailed by some scarred comrade in arms, and greeted by the fathers and mothers, the sons and daughters of the land, as one of its deliverers. In some places he was struck with surprise at the great number of women among the multitudes that assembled to welcome him. He was told that they were the mothers, the widows, the sisters and daughters of the brave men who fell in the war, and that the loss had fallen so heavily on some places, that the proportion of men left in the community was very small. This was especially the case in the seaport towns, where, the coasting and fishing business being entirely destroyed by the British armed vessels hovering on the coast, the

* The name by which the Indians recognised the king of France.

whole population was thrown out of employment, and the men, old and young, shouldered their muskets, and marched, *en masse*, to the camp.

Having saluted his comrades in all the principal towns, as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, he returned to Boston, and thence took passage, by water, for the Chesapeake. Virginia hailed his coming with rapture. The people everywhere welcomed him as the hero who had fought their battles, who had protected their persons and property from the ravages of a powerful foe, and who, by his masterly skill, consummate prudence, and unyielding valor, had delivered their state from the hands of a hostile army, and struck the great decisive blow in their long conflict for independence.

At Richmond, he was joined by General Washington. Together they traversed, in peace and security, the scenes of the recent war. They shared the congratulations and homage of a grateful people, who knew well how to appreciate their services, and the sacrifices they had made in rendering them. The legislature of Virginia was then in session. Patrick Henry was there, and Jefferson, and Madison, and Monroe, with Lee, and Marshall, and Randolph, and many others, whose names, if not as conspicuous, now, on the tablets of fame, were as dear and as honored then, as these. The interviews of such men, on such an occasion, their sentiments, their conversation, their reminiscences, their anticipations, the feelings which thrilled their souls, may be imagined, but not easily described.

Sojourning a few days more at Mount Vernon, on his way, Lafayette made a brief pause at Philadelphia, and then hastened to Trenton, New Jersey, where the Continental Congress was then in session. From that body he received the most distinguished marks of attention and grateful regard. An address from the president,

expressing the sentiment of the nation, was responded to in a tone of fervid eloquence and prophetic ardor, which was characteristic of his exalted enthusiasm and profound devotion to liberty. "May this immense temple of freedom," said he, "ever stand as a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind; and may these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government!"

Yielding up his commission into the hands of the president, he bade an affectionate farewell to each member, and to the numerous friends who had gathered around him on the eve of his departure, and proceeded on his way to New York. Nearly all the states through which he had passed, in his tour, had bestowed upon him and his descendants the rights of citizenship. From that date, Lafayette and his heirs became naturalized citizens of these United States.

Such was the estimation in which he was now held in France, even at the court where he was so recently proscribed, that a national ship was placed at his service, to convey him home. He left New York, on Christmas day, 1784, in the *Nymphé* frigate, and, after a passage of thirty-one days, arrived safely in Paris.

In passing through Philadelphia, Lafayette became acquainted with a talented and agreeable young man, a recent refugee from Ireland, in whose history and fortunes he took a lively interest. He was a printer by profession, and had made himself so obnoxious to the officers of the crown, by the liberality of his political opinions, and his boldness in declaring and defending them, that it was no longer safe for him to remain in Great Britain. Leaving everything behind, he fled to America, the ample asylum, whose doors had just been thrown open to the oppressed of all nations. Reduced,



Lafayette giving up his Commission.—Page 158.

by his sudden flight, from the enjoyment of comparative affluence, he landed on our shores in a state of absolute poverty, having only the universal birthright of freedom for an inheritance. His story, which awakened a lively interest in the city of "brotherly love," coming to the ears of Lafayette, he sought an interview with him, and was so well pleased with his intelligence, and the frank and manly tone of his conversation, that he became at once his firm and faithful friend. He not only encouraged him in a plan he had contemplated of establishing a paper in Philadelphia, by becoming a subscriber himself, and soliciting his friends to do likewise, but made him a present of four hundred dollars in money, as a capital on which to commence his business. On this capital, the enterprising stranger laid the foundation of an ample fortune, which, accumulating by the industry and thrift of a long and useful life, enabled him, not only to refund the original amount to the generous donor, but to repay to others, a hundred fold, the favor he had received, and to leave behind him, at the close of his career, a handsome estate to his family, with liberal bequests to the charities of his adopted country.

But Lafayette's kindness to Matthew Carey did not stop here. He took an active interest in procuring him other friends and patrons. In his farewell letter to Washington, dated "On board *le Nymphe*, New York harbor, December 21, 1784," he thus commends the young stranger to the kind regards of "the father of his country:" "Mr. Carey, printer of the Volunteer Journal, has been obliged to fly for his life, and now lives at Mr. Sutter's, hatter, in Front street, Philadelphia, where he is going to set up a paper. A letter from you, becoming a subscriber, and telling him I have mentioned it to you, will the more oblige me, as I have promised to recommend him to my friends."

CHAPTER XII.

DOMESTIC REPOSE AND PUBLIC HONORS.

THE few years that intervened between the close of the American revolution and the opening scenes of that of France, were, to Lafayette, a season of domestic felicity and honorable repose. In the splendid retirement of his own lordly mansion, surrounded by admiring and devoted friends, he passed the happiest and most peaceful days of his eventful life; and whenever, from that retreat, he went forth into the world, he was courted and honored by the great, and greeted with the liveliest enthusiasm by the people.

During this period, his house was always open for the reception of Americans, and many of them found a home there, where cordial and refined hospitalities reminded them forcibly of their native land. Always on the alert to discover in what way he could promote the interests of America, he procured some very important commercial concessions from France, tending greatly to advance the trade between the two countries. The French merchants had not, at that time, engaged, to any great extent, in the whaling business. They were indebted to American and English enterprise for nearly all their supply of oil, which was admitted to enter under a heavy duty. Seeing, in this fact, an opportunity to benefit America, without injuring France, he endeavored, first, to procure a total abolition of the duties on American

oils, in order to secure for them the monopoly of the market. Finding this impracticable, on account of the revenue derived from that source, and the effort then making to encourage a home enterprise in the fisheries, he contented himself with obtaining, first, a considerable reduction of the duty on American oil, and, secondly, a contract for the admission, duty free, of three cargoes, of about five hundred hogsheads each, for lighting the cities of Paris and Versailles. This contract was given to a mercantile house in Boston. In announcing this result to his friend, S. Breck, Esq., he remarks: "I worked very hard to bring this about; and am happy at having, at last, obtained a point which may be agreeable to New England and the people of Boston. I wish they may, at large, know I did not neglect their affairs; and, although this is a kind of private bargain, yet, as it amounts to a value of about eight hundred thousand French livres [\$160,000], and government have been prevailed upon to take off all duties, it can be considered as a matter of importance."

To the inhabitants of Nantucket, and others engaged in the fishing and whaling business, this reduction of the import duty was an invaluable boon; and they testified their gratitude in a manner no less unique and original, than tasteful. It was thus described, in one of the journals of the day:—

"Although separated from the continent, the inhabitants of this island have, nevertheless, participated with their fellow-citizens in the just tribute of gratitude which the great services rendered by the marquis de Lafayette to the United States have obtained. As wise, as useful, and as enlightened, in peace, as he was brave and skilful in war, he has endeavored still closer to draw together two nations, already united by policy and reason. To accomplish this object, he has devoted his attention to

those commercial ties which might prove mutually advantageous. With the view of establishing our commercial relations on a solid and permanent basis, and of affording to us the means of paying for the merchandise which we are desirous of exporting from France, he has obtained the privilege that our whale-oil (which, with our flocks, constitutes our sole riches) shall pay no other duty than that of the Hanseatic towns. This generous concession on the part of the French government, has conferred upon us an extraordinary benefit, as it revives our discouraged industry, and establishes us on this island, the land of our fathers, from which the new order of things would otherwise have compelled us to emigrate. Penetrated with gratitude for so signal a service, the inhabitants of Nantucket, in corporation assembled, voted and resolved, That each of them should contribute the milk afforded by his cow during the space of twenty-four hours ; that the whole quantity thus obtained should be manufactured into a *cheese weighing five hundred pounds* ; and that the same should be transmitted to the marquis de Lafayette, as a feeble, but not less sincere, testimonial of the affection and gratitude of the inhabitants of Nantucket."

Republics are proverbially ungrateful. If America was not so to Lafayette, she has abundantly vindicated her title to that character since, in the niggardly pittance with which she has mocked the declining years of the "old continentals." Ninety-six dollars annually, minus the fees and charges of sundry officials, is poor compensation for the miseries and hardships of war, and the peril of life and limb which it involves. The youthful marquis was awarded the honor of a civic triumph ; his name was immortalized by bestowing it upon towns and counties in all the states, and on him and his descendants, to the latest generation, were conferred the rights of naturalized citizens.

In addition to these, the state of Virginia ordered two splendid busts to be executed in marble, by the celebrated Houdon. One of them was placed conspicuously in the capitol of the state. The other was presented through Mr. Jefferson, to the city of Paris. It was received with great public pomp, and placed in the principal hall of the Hotel de Ville. This was a place of great distinction and importance. Here the National Assembly of France held its meetings, and here, on the 12th of July, 1789, Lafayette was elected, by that body, to the supreme command of the National Guards.

His correspondence with General Washington at this period, is full of interest. It is too voluminous to admit of its introduction here in any other form than that of a meager abstract. One of the subjects which occupied his attention, and engrossed his care, was universal emancipation, and a plan which he had long contemplated, for elevating the colored race to a capacity for freedom. He did not admit the doctrine of slavery, in any form, into his creed. He was not, like some modern reformers, in favor of madly overturning the existing relations of society, without making provision for the new relations that would suddenly arise. He proposed a rational and judicious course of preparation, by which the slave was first to be elevated to the character and intelligence of a freeman, and then admitted to his privileges. For this end, he purchased an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a large number of slaves. Proposing the gradual emancipation of the whole number, he procured for them a competent teacher, and immediately commenced a thorough system of education and discipline, which should prepare them to act for themselves. This experiment was a purely benevolent one, intended to demonstrate the capabilities of the colored race, and the absolute advantages, in an economical point of view, of elevating them to an equal-

ity with white men. A large sum of money was devoted to it. The utmost zeal and enthusiasm of Lafayette were enlisted in its behalf. The countenance and co-operation of several eminent statesmen and philosophers,* on both sides of the water, were secured. And it was in the full flow of successful experiment, promising to realize all the exalted anticipations of its noble projector, when it was suddenly arrested by the palsy hand of the Reign of Terror. Too just, too wise, too regardful of the permanent rights and interests of humanity, to run into the mad excesses of the Jacobins of that dreadful day, he fell under the ban of their displeasure. A price was set upon his life, his estates were confiscated. The experimental plantation in Cayenne, with its family of half-emancipated slaves, was transferred to other hands, the laborers being first turned adrift, and then reclaimed and sold again into bondage. What lessons might have been derived from this philanthropic experiment, how far the condition of slavery in the world might have been ameliorated by the introduction of humanizing institutions, or how far the agitations and extravagances of merely theoretical abolitionists might have been forestalled and prevented by the result of this noble effort, and of others that would naturally

* Among the American names of distinction which were openly and cordially pledged to these plans and views, are those of Washington, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, Laurens, &c. Washington in his reply to Lafayette's announcement of his purchase in Cayenne, used the following unequivocal and emphatic language: "Your late purchase in Cayenne, with a view of emancipating your slaves, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country. But I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the assembly (of Virginia) at its last session, for the abolition of slavery, but they could scarcely obtain a hearing. To set the slaves afloat at once, would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief; but by degrees it certainly might, and assuredly ought to be effected; and that, too, by legislative authority."

have sprung from it, it is difficult now to conjecture. It is confidently believed, however, if it could have been faithfully carried out under the constant charge and oversight of its humane and sagacious projector, that it would have demonstrated beyond a cavil the grand problem of our age, by proving that it is both safe and politic to enlighten and instruct the slave, as well as feasible and wise to emancipate him on the soil. It is the ignorant untutored savage that we justly fear. From the educated freeman, admitted to the rights and privileges of citizenship, we have nothing to fear, but everything to hope.

Imperfect as this noble experiment was, and arrested as it was in mid career, its actual results are eloquently suggestive. Cayenne was the only one of the French colonies in which efforts were made to instruct and elevate the negroes. Moved by the arguments and stimulated by the example of Lafayette, the minister of the marine, on whom the charge devolved, gave directions to the intendant of Cayenne, to extend the same privileges to the negroes belonging to the crown. The planters began to follow in the same steps, and the light of intellectual and moral day was dawning on the slaves of Cayenne. And yet, in direct contradiction of the timid and unjust alarms of "the peculiar institution," Cayenne was the only one of the colonies in which no disorders took place, when the decree of emancipation went forth. Filled with gratitude to their paternal friend, the slaves on the *model plantation* declared that, if Lafayette's property was confiscated, they would avail themselves of the liberty which the law had proffered them; but while it remained in his possession, or under his guardianship, they should continue to cultivate it for him.

The summer of 1785 Lafayette employed in travelling through the principal states and kingdoms of continental Europe. He visited the courts of Austria and Prus-

sia, where, as in all other places, he was received with every token of respect and admiration. Notwithstanding his well-known republican principles, which were always frankly avowed, and conspicuously illustrated, he was treated with the utmost cordiality and distinction by kings and nobles, as well as by the people. The emperor Joseph II., of Austria, brother to the beautiful Marie Antoinette, and Frederick the Great, of Prussia, showed him the highest marks of regard and esteem. The latter monarch had collected at Potsdam an immense assemblage of princes, noblemen, and military officers, the flower, pride, and strength of a nation then the most warlike and powerful in Europe, to witness and take part in the grand review of an army of fifty thousand men. Hearing of the arrival of Lafayette at his capital, the emperor immediately sent an *aide-de-camp*, to invite him to his palace, where he received not only the hospitality due to a distinguished guest, but the most flattering testimonials of royal respect and kindness. He was honored, in both public and private, with the personal attentions of "the great captain" Frederick, the most distinguished military character of the age. He was highly complimented upon his gallant services in America. He took a conspicuous part in the reviews and military parades of the week, where he had the pleasure of witnessing the evolutions and manœuvres of the most highly disciplined and best appointed troops in the world, and where sieges and storms, assaults and retreats, with all the varied evolutions of the camp and the field, were enacted to the life, under the eye and command of the king. To Lafayette, it was at the same time a treat and a lesson, a fête and a school, and he knew well how to appreciate the professional advantages as well as the personal distinction he enjoyed.

It is gratifying to observe how personal merit, and a

high and fearless consistency of character will sometimes overcome the strongest barriers of natural prejudice, and extort the sincerest expressions of esteem and admiration from sources whence opposition and hatred only could have been expected. From the autocrats and legitimists of Europe, who contended only for the "divine right" of kings, and regarded their people as mere instruments to execute their will, it could not have been expected that the plain republicanism of Lafayette, and his manly recognition of the rights of the people, as the true sovereigns everywhere, should have met with any countenance. It was utterly repugnant to every principle on which they were accustomed to reason and act. It was in direct antagonism to all their preconceived notions, and most cherished plans. And yet to the heroism of the soldier, and the virtues of the man, they were compelled to yield the homage of unfeigned respect. On leaving Potsdam, Lafayette received from Frederick a present of the emperor's miniature, magnificently set with diamonds, a token of personal consideration, which is usually reserved by monarchs for the most distinguished occasions, and which is consequently regarded as one of the highest compliments that royalty can bestow.

On his return to Paris, Lafayette wrote to Washington a graphic sketch of this interesting tour. "My summer," he says, "has been devoted to princes, soldiers, and post-horses. I have been rambling through Cassel, Brunswick, Berlin, Breslau, Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Potsdam, and Berlin again. At Cassel, I saw our Hessian friends, and among them, 'old Knip.'* I told them they were fine fellows. They replied with thanks and compliments. Ancient foes can meet with pleasure; which, however, I think must be greater on the side that fought a successful cause." At Potsdam, he "made his

* General Knyphausen, commander of the Hessian corps in America.

bow to the king," whom he describes as an old, broken-down, dirty corporal, covered all over with Spanish snuff, his head leaning on one shoulder, his fingers distorted with the gout, yet with the most beautiful eyes that ever were seen, in which fire, blended with softness, gave an expression to his physiognomy as charming in the ordinary intercourse of social life, as it was severe and threatening at the head of the army. Here, also, he met his old antagonist, Lord Cornwallis, who was placed between himself and the duke of York, at the king's table, where a long and interesting conversation took place in relation to American affairs. Abercrombie, and other distinguished British officers were there, at the same time, as well as several of his worthy compeers, both French and American, in the army of independence. In all the circles of regal and aristocratic influence, he heard much, and had much to say, of America. The spirit and firmness with which the revolution was carried through, excited universal admiration. The name of Washington was pronounced with respect and enthusiasm, which made the heart of his pupil and friend glow with unspeakable happiness. But they had no confidence in the stability of the government, or the capacity of the people to govern themselves. This was not to be expected. And, though Lafayette combated their errors with the powerful logic of an eye-witness and an actor, he left them unconvinced, and they have remained unconvinced during all the agitations of the sixty years that have since elapsed. But now, sudden conviction has seized them all. At this very moment, an electric influence has shot through all the nations of Europe, crowns are falling in the dust, and the old crowned heads, awaking from the dream of ages, are fain to acknowledge that kings are but men, and that the people are the only sovereigns.

In one of his "table-talks" with the emperor, at Pots-

dam, Frederick declared confidently his opinion that America would not long be republican. She would return to the good old system. "Never, sire, never," replied Lafayette—"a monarchy, a nobility, can never exist in America." "Sir," said the monarch, "I knew a young man, who, after having visited countries where liberty and equality reigned, conceived the idea of establishing the same system in his own country. Do you know what happened to him?" "No, sire." The king replied with a smile—"He was hanged." Lafayette smiled in his turn, but neither of them foresaw or imagined that, in less than ten years, the prediction would come so near being realized, the honored guest of that day being the culprit, and the successor of his royal host, who was also present at the table, being the jailer and executioner.

The free sentiments expressed on this occasion were long remembered and cherished against Lafayette. When Dr. Bollman, in 1793, presented to the Prussian minister a memorial drawn up by Lally-Tolendal, soliciting the release of Lafayette from imprisonment, the minister replied: "Lafayette has too much fanaticism for liberty. He does not conceal it. All his letters prove it. If he were out of prison he could not remain quiet. I saw him when he was here, and I shall always recollect one of his expressions which surprised me very much at the time. 'Do you believe,' said he, 'that I went to America to obtain military reputation?—it was for liberty I went there. He who loves liberty can only remain quiet after having established it in his own country.'"

The cause to which Lafayette had consecrated himself, was that of the people. Liberty, in his view, was another term for wise and equal laws, and its achievement consisted in restoring to the common people those

rights and privileges which the prevalence of false systems, and the endless usurpations of rulers, had frittered away. In the prosecution of this grand object, no work was too great to be attempted, and no service too minute or too humble, to command his attention. Though himself a nominal adherent of the church of Rome, he could no more tolerate the tyranny of a pope or a priest, than that of a king. Finding that the protestants of France were still laboring under severe disabilities, on account of their faith, he immediately espoused their cause, pursuing it with his accustomed energy and zeal, till he procured a decree for their relief.

The protestants resided chiefly in the south of France, their principal congregation being at Nismes, in the department of Gard. Under cover of a journey to Chavagniac, his own paternal estate, which lay in that direction, Lafayette visited Nismes, and called on the venerable Paul Rabaut, the apostle and almost martyr of the persecuted faith. The interview was sublime and affecting. Having listened awhile, in silence, to his distinguished visiter, until he learned the object of his mission, the aged patriarch raised his hands and eyes to heaven, and exclaimed, in the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." It was concerted, that, as soon as Lafayette had prepared the way in Paris and Versailles, Rabaut de St. Etienne, the eldest son of the patriarch, and himself a protestant minister, should proceed to the capital, to confer with other liberal patriots there, who would further the object they had in view.

Loaded with blessings, and followed by the prayers of these persecuted men, Lafayette returned to Versailles, and commenced his work of charity, by consulting with Rochefoucauld, Malesherbes, and others of the same liberal sentiments. Young Rabaut arrived in due time.

His simple piety, his lofty self-devotion, his intelligence, and the unaffected purity of his life and manners, made a most favorable impression. Hearts and hands were enlisted in the cause, prejudices melted away, bigotry relaxed its stern pretensions, and justice gave back to the oppressed the invaluable, inalienable right to worship God in their own way—to obey him rather than man.

Writing to Washington on this subject, May 11, 1785, he said: "Protestants in France are under intolerable despotism. Although open persecution does not exist, it depends wholly upon the whim of the king, the queen, parliament, or any of the ministry. I have taken it into my head to be a leader in this affair, and to have their situation changed. It is a work of time and some danger; but I run my chance."

It is through such hazards and toils that the great work of humanity is accomplished. He who would wrench power from the hand of oppression, or achieve any part of a nation's deliverance, must "run his chance" for glory, a dagger, or a halter. The great epochs of Time always produce men equal to the emergency. Let us who reap the golden harvest, cherish the memories, and emulate the virtues, of them who broke up the fallow-ground, and watered it with their blood.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE finances of France were reduced to a state of the utmost disorder. The most wasteful extravagance, as well as the most shameless profligacy, had given an infamous distinction to several of the reigns immediately preceding that of Louis XVI. To supply means for the prodigal expenditures of the crown, all the natural resources of the kingdom had been exhausted, and a heavy and yearly increasing debt had been accumulated. To cover the deficiency thus created, and, at the same time, to supply the ceaseless demands upon the treasury, resort was had to every species of taxation, till the peasantry and the common people, on whom most of the burdens of government rest, were ground into the dust. There never lived a more miserable, down-trodden, oppressed race, than the poor of France were at this period. The chief duty of a minister was to devise means to multiply their burdens, and to extract from the miserable remnants of their means all that tyranny and rapacity might claim.

At length, when every resource failed, an assembly of the notables was called, by order of the king, to assist in devising measures of relief for his embarrassed finances. The members of this assembly, nominated by the king, were chosen from the most distinguished of the nobility, the clergy, and the commons. They were divided into several bureaux or committees. Over each

of these bureaux a prince of the royal family presided. The law providing for this assembly required that all its members should be at least thirty years of age. Lafayette wanted more than six months of that age at the opening of the assembly; yet he was elected, though not without opposition from the minister Calonne, the law having been suspended in his favor. Count d'Artois, brother of the king, and afterward Charles X., was placed over the section to which Lafayette belonged. This prince was quicksighted enough to perceive that he had difficult materials to work with; and, with the usual sagacity of princes, he attempted to subdue the members by intimidation.

The first thing that was demanded was the reform of abuses; and, as a necessary preliminary to that, an inquiry into the administration of public affairs. This was by no means agreeable to the king. He had hoped for measures of aid for the future, without any serious meddling with the past. But Lafayette, and others of the same class, insisted on knowing the full extent of the evils they were called upon to remedy, and exposing, with a view to removal, the cause of those evils. Such an investigation was painful to royalty, and it brought to light a long train of abuses too appalling to be contemplated. There was a deficiency in the treasury of more than a hundred and forty millions of livres. The most shameful peculation prevailed in every department. The administration of justice was corrupted in all its sources. The royal prerogative was overshadowed and overawed; and being wielded, for the most part, by a selfish and ambitious ministry, it wanted even the safeguard of the king's known humanity and love of truth.

On all these topics, Lafayette spoke with a plainness and energy to which the delicate ear of royalty was

wholly unaccustomed. He went directly to the point at issue, and resisted every effort at concealment. He was the first, and the most resolute, in condemning the "*lettres-de-cachet*," a secret and summary instrument of despotism, by which private arrests were made, and all the forms of law superseded. He entered a bold and eloquent protest against every species and degree of religious persecution. The duty on salt,* which was the heaviest grievance of the people, and the most despotic folly of the crown, he also procured to be abrogated, appending to the resolution which demanded this measure of relief, an earnest request to the king that he would immediately order that "all the unfortunate persons who had, on that account, been loaded with irons, or dragged to the galleys, should be immediately restored to their families and to freedom."

The wasteful prodigality which had characterized all the public expenditures, was commented upon with great warmth and severity. The presiding officer of the committee reported the speeches and remarks to the king. He also conveyed to him the resolutions and suggestions which, from day to day, were matured in the assembly. The king was seriously displeased with the plainness and severity of some of the speeches, and demanded that all statements in the nature of complaints of the government, and all proposals for reform implying censure of any of its departments, should be given in writing, and signed by the person proposing it. This kind of indi-

* The salt-tax was one of those peculiar inventions of a disjointed era, which imply, on the part of its author, no less a diseased intellect, than a corrupt heart. It required that every individual of the common people should purchase at the government dépôts, at a stipulated price, a certain quantity of salt per annum. Every father was obliged to purchase that quantity for each of his children from the day of its birth. The quantity was much greater than any adult could consume, and the price was exorbitant. It was a yoke grievous to be borne, and occasioned the greatest distress among the peasantry.

vidual responsibility, it was supposed, would check the boldness of censure; but the spirit of Lafayette was not to be intimidated by any mere mark that royalty or its instruments could set upon him. He asked for nothing but what was right, and he would not yield the right of asking that. On the announcement of the king's desire, he instantly rose in his place, and requested the president to thank the king for the permission thus given, to add the force of personal influence and confirmation to the measures which their public duty required them to propose — a permission which he promised to take advantage of, "with the zeal, impartiality, and freedom, which should ever actuate his conduct."

This was followed by a manly, undisguised statement of some of the principal abuses, by which the finances of the government had become deranged, and the burdens of the people rendered insupportably oppressive. "Great disorder," he said, "supposes great depredation. The millions that are dissipated are raised by impost; and an impost can only be justified by the real exigences of the state. All the millions given up to cupidity or depredation, are the fruit of the sweat, the tears, and perhaps the blood, of the nation."

Count d'Artois having objected to this memorial, as too personal and emphatic in its tone and language, Lafayette replied, that he possessed by birth the right of laying his representations at the foot of the throne.

It will be remembered, that the French ministry, in justifying their early recognition of American independence, and their interference in American affairs, made the remarkable concession, that the United States were in fact already independent, being made so by virtue of their own declaration. Lafayette, who received that announcement in the camp at White Plains, immediately said to General Washington, "We will take care to re-

mind the king of that at some future day." He was always on the lookout for omens of liberty, and always ready to secure every step of advance already made. He declared to several influential members of the assembly, his determination not to let the present opportunity pass, without securing some good results to France. The calling of the assembly was a measure of absolute necessity on the part of the king. The crown was bankrupt, and would be irrecoverably so, without its assistance. He proposed, therefore, to make it a prerequisite in rendering that assistance, that the king should formally and solemnly acknowledge certain specified constitutional principles, for the future administration of the government. The memorials which developed the germs of those principles, are worthy of the head and heart that produced them. They show a depth of thought, a calm, prudent, watchful regard for every interest of the people, blended with a sincere and respectful recognition of the king and his just prerogatives; a far-reaching sagacity, and high moral courage, rarely found in the high places of an aristocratic dynasty.

As a specimen of his earnest and pointed advocacy of the rights and interests of the common people, the following extract may serve the present purpose: "I know that the reduction of taxes demanded would appear small, when compared with the dissipation and luxury of the court and the higher classes of society; but let us follow those millions when dispersed among the small cottages of the poor, and we shall behold the widow's and orphan's mite, the last vexation which forces the laborer to quit his plough, and condemns the family of the honest artisan to pauperism."

Having in a manly, decided, yet calm and moderate tone, exposed the enormous evils of the existing state of things, and proposed extensive retrenchments; and a

system of well-balanced accountability in all the departments of public business, he frankly announced his conviction that the nation had reached a great crisis in its affairs; that the events which had already transpired, and the measures which were now to be adopted, must of necessity bring about "*a new order of things.*" He therefore earnestly entreated the king to complete what he had already so well begun, by convoking a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

These last words fell upon the ears of the prince-president like a clap of thunder. "What, sir!" he exclaimed, "do you ask for the convocation of the states-general?"

"Yes, my lord," was the unhesitating reply, "and even more than that."

"You wish me, then, to write, and to carry to the king, that the marquis de Lafayette moves to convoke the states-general?"

"Yes, my lord."

Here commenced the drama of the French revolution. The remoter causes had been operating through ages of slow and wasting oppression; but the magic word which set this terrible engine in motion—the match which lighted the train to this mighty magazine—was the simple proposition of Lafayette, to call an assembly of the representatives of the people.

The government of France was an absolute despotism. The king was the supreme arbiter of its destinies. He appointed his own ministers, made his own laws, levied and raised taxes at his pleasure, and lavished his treasures as he pleased, till the resources of the nation were exhausted; then, utterly unable to devise measures adequate to replenish his coffers, he called together, of his own will, and subject to his own mode of organization and control, an assembly of the notables. There was

something ridiculous in the very name ; and Lafayette humorously burlesques it, in a letter to Washington, remarking, that “wicked people called them *not-ables*.” It was composed of the very aristocracy of the land. The two brothers of the king, all the princes of the blood, dukes and peers, the highest dignitaries of the church, the most distinguished among the nobility, and the mayors and chief magistrates of some of the principal cities of the kingdom, constituted this assembly. It was a representation of every interest but that of the people. It was not, indeed, necessary that they should have been represented there, as the leading design of the assembly was to induce the privileged orders, who composed it, to relieve the people, and replenish the exhausted treasure, by self-imposed assessments upon their own estates and incomes. Their deliberations were confined to certain measures proposed by the minister. But such men as Lafayette were not to be bound by arbitrary and unreasonable restrictions. They demanded concessions on the part of the king, preliminary to yielding to him the right to tax their estates. They asked embarrassing questions. They insisted upon awkward investigations, in order that they might fully understand the extent of the evil to be remedied. It was the distinctive glory of Lafayette, that the concessions he demanded embraced the interests and the welfare of the people. He sought no aggrandizement of the nobility ; no perquisites of privilege or power for his own order. He rather aimed to reduce them, by elevating the whole nation. He demanded an equality of rights — personal liberty for all, religious liberty for all, and a representation in the government for all the governed.

These demands were rejected. The assembly of notables was dissolved, without accomplishing the object for which it was called. The king attempted, by new

measures of arbitrary power, to prop up his waning authority. But it was too late. The assembly, though entirely aristocratic in its composition, and trammelled by royal interference, had done much to show the necessity of a great public reform, and to assert the representative rights of the people. Revolution which knows no retrograde, had already begun.

Calonne, the prime minister, at whose instigation the more recent acts of tyranny had been perpetrated, and who proposed to the king to send Lafayette to the Bastille, for his bold propositions in the assembly, was unable to hold his place. The assembly could not convert nor control him, but it effected his removal from office. Necker, the able, honest, incorruptible Swiss financier, was again called to take the charge of the treasury, and the convocation of the states-general was resolved upon.

This was not a regularly-organized legislative body. It had no existence but in the arbitrary will of the king. There was no constitution or compact between him and the people, which provided for such an assembly, and apportioned its powers and prerogatives. Like the assembly of the notables, it was called together by a royal edict, with a view, not to ameliorate the condition of the people, or devise means to extend their liberties and privileges, but rather to improve the condition of the crown, to replenish its bankrupt coffers, and relieve its treasury of an insupportable burden of debt.

An important preliminary question arose, which led to a second meeting of the notables. It was public opinion, loudly and peremptorily expressed, that had driven the king to decide upon calling the states-general. The same public opinion now demanded a liberal infusion of the popular principle in its organization. The states, or estates of France were three, the nobles, the clergy, and the commons. The last was called *le tiers etat*, the

third estate, known hitherto only as the bearer of all the public burdens, and recognised only as *subjects*. This was now to be convened only as an instrument of royal will, to raise subsidies for his exchequer. He designed, in the construction of the assembly, to place them in check by the other two orders, by giving them only an equal representation, and requiring that they should meet in separate chambers, and act by concurrent votes. Public opinion, however, demanded that the representatives of the commons should be equal to that of both the other estates, and that they should constitute one joint assembly, to deliberate upon the affairs of the nation. As the clergy were, in fact, a kind of nobility, a privileged order, exempt from taxation, it was manifestly right and equitable that the commons should be thus represented. In no other way, indeed, could they be said to be represented at all; inasmuch as in all matters of conflicting interest they would always be in a hopeless minority.

Louis XVI. was naturally disposed to justice and liberality. He really desired the welfare of his people. But he wanted the decision of character to take so great a responsibility. He therefore convoked another assembly of the notables, to advise him what to do. Lafayette, as might have been expected, took the popular side, in which he was supported by some of the ablest men in France. The debate was a stormy one, calling into exercise all the pride and selfishness of a pampered aristocracy, and all the fervid zeal and fearless eloquence of the sincere advocates of liberty.

The decision was unfavorable to the people. But the people were not to be put down. They caused themselves to be heard through so many channels of influence, and with so powerful an appeal to the common sense and the better feelings of the king, that he yielded the

point, so far as to order that the number of the deputies of the commons should be equal to that of the nobles and the clergy united.

The states-general assembled in May, 1789, the three orders meeting in separate departments. The question of a joint meeting of the three estates, which had already been discussed in public, was raised in the chamber of the commons. A proposition to that effect, sent up to the other chambers, though ably advocated by Lafayette, was rejected by the nobles. The clergy, by a considerable majority, were in favor of it, but were overruled by a still larger majority of the nobles. The commons persisted, and refused to organize except in a joint assembly of the three orders. They claimed the right of examining the credentials of all the members, and submitting their own in a public joint session. Several weeks elapsed in the discussion of this point, the commons all the while gaining confidence in themselves and influence with the people. At length, they took the bold responsibility of proceeding to business without waiting longer for the consent of the nobles. On the 17th of June, they resolved themselves into a legislative body, under the name of the *National Assembly*, declaring their intention, in that capacity, "to accomplish the regeneration of France."

The spirit of freedom was abroad. That name, which, pronounced by the lips of Lafayette only two years before, had startled Count d'Artois from his seat, and electrified the assembly of notables, was now openly and fearlessly adopted—adopted by the representatives of the common people, in the face of the nobles and the crown, in whom alone all power had hitherto resided. Never was a bolder, a more heroic attitude assumed by any body of men on earth. The chamber of the third estate had then no existence but in the sovereign will

and condescension of the king. It had no acknowledged rights, no prerogatives, no constitution, no treasury, no army, no arm to support it, but the inherent, *jure-divino* sovereignty that everywhere and always resides in the people, and waits only to be asserted.

The court and the nobles were thrown into the utmost consternation at this daring and unexpected measure. The clergy, who had all the while leaned to the liberal side, resolved to accept the invitation of the commons, and immediately joined their assembly. Doubly alarmed by this defection, the nobles called upon the king to interpose the royal prerogative, and compel the refractory commons to confine themselves within the limits he had prescribed. This he attempted by proposing to attend the session in person, hoping to overawe them by the presence of the supreme power, before which all subordinate powers were held as suspended. Preparatory to this display of his supremacy, he closed the hall where they held their meetings, and stationed a guard of soldiers about the doors. Assembling, as usual, on the morning of the 20th of June, the deputies were notified that the king had adjourned the sitting until the 22d. Having regularly adjourned their own sitting, and by no means admitting that, because the king had called them together to exercise an inherent right, which had been wrongfully withheld from them, he had therefore the power to recall that right, and dissolve their assembly, they immediately repaired to the Tennis court, a large unoccupied building, where, without seats, or furniture of any kind, and subject alike to the formidable interference of royal bayonets, and the disturbing acclamations of the multitude, they calmly proceeded to fulfil their high commission. Convinced that the usurping power which had so long held back their rights, and which had now conceded them only for a moment, to

subserve its own ends, was eager to reclaim them, they resolved, by one bold and decided act, to secure them for ever. They fully understood that, between self-government and tyranny, freedom and slavery, there was no neutral ground. Having obtained a standing in the forum, and a hearing in the councils of the government, they were determined never to abandon the one, or suffer the other to be silenced, till France was regenerated, and a just balance devised between the power of the ruler, and the rights of the people. They demanded a CONSTITUTION, a solemn written compact, to which the governors as well as the governed, should be always amenable. And, that there might be no quailing or shrinking under the power of royalty, they bound themselves, each to the other, under a solemn oath, administered in open assembly, and subscribed by all but one of the deputies, "never to separate, and to assemble whenever circumstances should require, till the *constitution* of the kingdom should be established and founded on a solid basis."

Like the Declaration of Independence in America, this open and fearless act of the plebeian assembly, seconded as it was with loud demonstrations of popular sympathy, made the foundations of the throne tremble. It aimed a death-blow at prerogative and prescription. It sent consternation and alarm through all the ranks of the aristocracy. The nobles were even more sensitive than the king. By a large majority they voted to repair in a body to the palace, and urge him immediately to interpose the strong arm of the crown to save the crumbling fabric. Lafayette, and a few able independent men of that order, who preferred popular right to individual privilege, protested vehemently against this measure, as alike impolitic, unjust, and dangerous. They urged the necessity of yielding immediately to the de-

mands of public opinion. With Lafayette, it was a matter both of principle and of feeling, and he advocated the cause with the double force of one whose zeal is the offspring of conviction, and whose duty and inclinations harmonize. His fellow-magnates trembled with apprehension for the loss of their privileges. *He* desired no privileges, but those which everywhere belong to moral worth and intellectual superiority, and which are open alike to all.

Sustained by a minority of only forty-seven, in a body of two hundred and fifty members, Lafayette boldly and eloquently advocated the cause of the people. He warned the nobles to beware, for their own sakes, how they stood in the way of the progress of liberty. He depicted the old system of proscription and tyranny as tottering on its foundations, and those who should madly and selfishly cling to it, as perishing amid its awful ruins. He appealed to the eternal principles of truth and justice. But it was all in vain. He talked to men of one idea. He reasoned with the blind upon the nature and power of light. He made no impression upon the mass; but he carried with him the best and the ablest men of that assembly.

Intrigue, dissimulation, and intimidation, were resorted to, in the vain hope of crushing in embryo the giant spirit of the popular will. The royal sitting, proposed for the 22d, was postponed to the 23d. The Tennis court, to which the assembly had adjourned, was hired by the princes for their own use, in the hope of breaking up the meeting for that day. But the deputies of the people were not to be so diverted from their purpose. Repairing to a church in the vicinity, cheered and sustained by loud demonstrations of popular enthusiasm, they were immediately joined by a majority of the clerical deputies.

On the morning of the 23d, the hall of the states was surrounded by an armed guard. The populace was entirely excluded. The deputies of the third estate were, for some time, kept waiting at the door; and when at length they were admitted, they found their seats pre-occupied by the nobles, and by those of the higher clergy who joined them in resisting the encroachments of the people. Presently the herald appeared, announcing the arrival of the king. He was received in profound silence. Surrounded with all the insignia of regal power, he mounted the throne, and addressed the assembled states in a tone of unyielding, dictatorial authority. He censured, in strong terms, the proceedings of the "National Assembly," denounced their assumption of that imposing title, declaring that they were only one, and that the lowest, order of the states, commanded them to preserve the distinctions of the separate orders, to maintain the ancient rights and privileges of the nobility, and to beware how they overstepped the bounds assigned them by his sovereign will, or trespassed, in any way, upon the prerogatives of the crown. With these injunctions, he dismissed the assembly, commanding them to separate immediately.

Withdrawing from the hall in the order of rank, the king led the way, followed by the nobles and a portion of the clergy. As the last of their number was passing the threshold, Mirabeau, smarting under the indignities he had suffered, and burning not less with a thirst for revenge than with the love of liberty, sprang to his feet. "Gentlemen," he exclaimed, in a tone of voice that rang through the hall, and fixed all eyes upon him—"Gentlemen, I grant that it may be for the present peace and quiet of the country, that we should give heed to the instructions we have just received. But the presence of despotism here is fraught with infinite danger. To

devise good for the nation we must deliberate. To deliberate, we must be free. What means this insulting dictation? this threatening display of arms? this flagrant violation of the national temple? Who is it that dictates to you the way in which you shall be happy? He who acts by your commission. Who is it that gives you imperious laws? He who acts by your commission—the minister, who by your appointment is vested with the execution of the laws—of laws which we only have a right to make. Ours is an inviolable political priesthood. To us, twenty-five millions of people are looking to guard from further desecration the sacred ark of liberty, to release them from the burdensome yoke which has so long crushed them, and to give them back their own inalienable right to peace, liberty, and happiness. Gentlemen, the freedom of your deliberations is attempted to be destroyed. The iron chain of despotic prescription is laid upon you. A military force surrounds your assembly. Where are the enemies of France? Is Catiline at our gates? Gentlemen! I demand that, clothing yourselves in your dignity and your legislative authority, you remain firm in the sacredness of your oath, which does not permit us to separate till we have framed a constitution—till we have given a *magna charta* to France.”

The grand-master of ceremonies, seeing that the assembly did not separate, as directed, was about to interpose, by reminding them of the peremptory order of the king. But Mirabeau silenced his intrusion. “Go,” he exclaimed—“tell your master that we are here by the order of the people, and that we shall depart only at the point of the bayonet.”

“Gentlemen!” added Siezès, calmly addressing himself to the assembly, “we are to-day what we were yesterday. Let us proceed with our deliberations.” The assembly was immediately brought to order, and the bu-

siness went forward as if no interruption had occurred. Its former acts and decrees were reaffirmed, and the persons of its members declared inviolable.

The next day was an exciting one in the chamber of peers. Their grand stratagem had failed. The deputies of the people had not been overawed by the presence and command of the king. They had dared to proceed in open opposition to the will of the throne. To what would it come at last? Where would these lawless encroachments end? In vain did Lafayette, and the few who had imbibed his liberal sentiments, point out the only true remedy for the evils they apprehended, the only refuge from the dangers which surrounded them. In vain did he set forth, with calm dispassioned eloquence, and a force of argument which it was impossible to answer, the rights of the people, and the duties of the government. In vain did he urge them to go, as they were bound to do, and take their seats in the National Assembly, to take part, as they had a right to do, in the deliberations of the people, and add the weight of their wisdom, experience, and power, to the councils by which the future destinies of France were to be shaped and governed. They were obstinately bent on sustaining their one idea. They would not yield an iota of their ancient claims and prerogatives. They refused to entertain the question of submission.

Lafayette was not a man to be hoodwinked by the mere arbitrary dictum of a majority. He was as inaccessible to promises of personal advantage, on the one hand, as he was to the fear of power on the other. He could do what he knew to be right, alone, though he would have been glad to carry his associates with him. He accordingly withdrew from the useless contest with the peers, and, accompanied by the forty-seven who had shared his sentiments, and seconded his views, proceeded to the assem-

bly, and signified his acceptance of their invitation to take part in their deliberations. The greater part of the clergy had already taken their seats there, and the popular assembly now embraced more than two thirds of the deputies of the three estates. The majority of the nobles, and the minority of the clergy, with sullen but unavailing obstinacy, continued their separate sittings for several days, when certain alarming demonstrations of the popular will in Paris, and in some parts of the country, induced them suddenly to yield the contested point. On the 27th of June, the three orders were all united in one body, and the National Assembly of France was complete.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION — ORGANIZATION AND
COMMAND OF THE NATIONAL GUARDS.

THE aristocracy had been compelled to bow to public opinion. But the king, influenced by the rash counsels of some of his ministers, and urged onward by his proud and beautiful queen, resolved on another effort to lay the spirit he had raised. He determined by force to control the deliberations of the assembly, and to make it, as he had originally intended, the subservient instrument of his own will. Troops were gathered in from all quarters, and Versailles presented more the appearance of a camp than of a court. The hall of the states, like the headquarters of a general, or rather like the jail where prisoners-of-war are confined, was surrounded by sentinel-guards, and all access to it by the common people was carefully prohibited. Mercenary legions from neighboring states were posted in all the avenues to Paris and Versailles, more than 50,000 of whom had been engaged to take the place of the French troops distrusted by the king.

Excited to new phrensy by these menacing preparations, the people began to show symptoms of that resistance to oppression which was never to be quelled but with the life-blood of the oppressor. In the assembly, there were similar indications of a spirit not easy to be subdued. On the motion of Mirabeau, seconded by Lafay-

ette, an address was sent to the king, requiring the withdrawal of the troops. The king, however, persisted in his policy of intimidation, and the guards were rather increased than diminished. He was as ignorant of the character of the men he had to deal with, as of the spirit of the times. They were superior to fear, and incapable of dissimulation. While the bayonets of the royal guards were bristling in every passage, and along all the avenues to the hall, Lafayette proposed for adoption the first declaration of rights that was ever heard in the old world. It breathed the spirit of universal freedom, and was worthy of the adopted son of America. It was condensed into the following brief and comprehensive form:—

“Nature has made men free and equal. The distinctions necessary to social order are only founded on general utility.

“Every man is born with rights inalienable and imprescriptible. Such are the liberty of his opinions, and the care of his honor and his life, the right of property, the uncontrolled disposal of his person, his industry, and all his faculties, the communication of all his thoughts by all possible means, the pursuit of happiness, and the resistance of oppression.

“The exercise of natural rights has no limits but such as will insure their enjoyment to other members of society.

“No man can be subject to any laws, excepting those which have received the assent of himself or his representatives, and which are promulgated beforehand and applied legally.

“The principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation. No body, no individual, can possess authority, which does not expressly emanate from it.

“Government has for its sole object the general welfare. This interest requires that the legislative, execu-

tive, and judicial powers, should be distinct and defined, and that their organization should secure the free representation of the citizens, the responsibility of the agents, and the impartiality of the judges.

“The laws ought to be clear, precise, and uniform for all citizens.

“The subsidies ought to be freely consented to, and fairly imposed.

“And, as the introduction of abuses, and the right of succeeding generations, make the revision of every human establishment necessary, it must be allowed the nation to have, in certain cases, an extraordinary convocation of deputies, whose sole object should be the examination and correction, if necessary, of the vices of the constitution.”

Thus it was, that the same noble spirit, from which emanated the first demand for a National Assembly, came forward in the midst of that assembly with a charter for the people. It was immediately and warmly seconded by Lally Tolendal, who, with no less justice than enthusiasm, accompanied his motion with the declaration, that “all the principles contained in this bill of rights are the sacred emanations of truth; all the sentiments are noble and sublime; and the author of it now displays as much eloquence in speaking of liberty, as he has always shown courage in defending it.

When, at the close of the American war, Lafayette returned to his family, he furnished a house in Paris. Upon one of the walls he suspended, in a handsome frame, a copy of the Declaration of Independence, leaving the corresponding space, on the opposite side, vacant. “What do you design to place here?” asked one of his friends. “The Declaration of Rights for France,” was the ready reply. Eight years that room remained unfurnished, no other human work being considered wor-

thy to occupy the vacant panel ; now, it is appropriately filled. The counterpart to the Declaration of Independence is there, and Lafayette hopes for his beloved France all that he aided to achieve for America.

The Declaration of Rights was adopted on the 11th of July. It was immediately followed by the dismissal and banishment of the faithful and efficient Necker, which caused a fearful outbreak of popular fury in Paris ; whereupon Lafayette brought forward, and the assembly instantly passed, a decree, declaring that the king's ministers and advisers, of whatever rank or state, should be held responsible for the acts of the government ; and then, apprehending, from the signs about them, that they should be forcibly excluded from their hall, the assembly passed another decree, declaring their session permanent and indissoluble. To relieve the venerable president, the archbishop of Vienne, of a portion of his too arduous duties, Lafayette was chosen vice-president of the assembly, and presided over its deliberations during the night. For two successive nights, while a terrible conflict was raging in the city, between an outraged populace and the mercenary troops of the crown, they did not leave their seats, lest they should be prevented from resuming them in the morning.

The people triumphed. The Bastille was demolished. The king, suddenly awaked from his mad security, saw that he had gone too far, and began to retrace his steps. Without a guard or an escort, accompanied by his two brothers, he presented himself before the assembly, to give, at the same time, his personal acknowledgment of their rights, as a National Assembly, and his personal assurance that his orders had already gone forth for the removal of the troops. "I am," said he, "one of the nation. You have been afraid of me ; but I now put my trust in you." Having, at the same time, promised

to recall Neckar, and restore him to the head of the cabinet, and to proceed in person, the next day, to Paris, with a view to appease the tumult and conciliate the people, he was greeted on all sides with the most rapturous enthusiasm. The members, without distinction of rank or party, rose from their seats, and escorted the monarch on foot to his palace.

The destruction of the Bastile was no ordinary event. It was, to outward appearance, an irregular, violent eruption of popular indignation, roused to unusual phrensy, in the righteous cause of resistance to organized oppression. It was not, however, the movement of a mob, or a faction, but of the whole people, the natural sovereigns, in whom all power originates, and to whom it necessarily reverts, when abused by those to whom it is delegated. This gigantic fortress, which for ages had reared its gloomy head amid the dwellings of Paris, frowning vengeance upon all who dared to breathe opposition to the will of the king, had been a terrible engine of tyrannical power. In its deep, dark dungeons, as hopeless of return as the grave, thousands of helpless, innocent victims had wasted away, under the slow-consuming tortures of suspense, without a trial, without an examination, and often without a knowledge of the offence they had committed. With its moats and ditches of impassable breadth, its towers and ramparts of inaccessible height, and its massive, impenetrable walls, it had ever been deemed impregnable to any human power. It had, in a former day, for more than three weeks, successfully withstood the skill, enterprise, and resolution, of the great Condé, with a well-appointed army at his feet. Now, that mighty, irresistible power — that power which may almost, without irreverence, be called omnipotent — a determined, united people, stands before it. An unorganized, undisciplined multitude, without an

acknowledged leader, demands its destruction. And it falls; in less than four hours it falls, never to rise again. Its destruction was one of those solemn acts in the great drama of human government, which Lafayette contemplated, when he uttered the memorable maxim, "*When oppression renders a revolution necessary, INSURRECTION BECOMES THE HOLIEST OF DUTIES.*" The key of this gloomy prison was presented to Lafayette, as the embodiment and representative of freedom in Europe. By him it was sent to Washington, with a sketch of the ruins of "that fortress of despotism."—"It is a tribute," to use the language of his own letter, "which I owe, as a son, to my adoptive father—as an aide-de-camp, to my general—as a missionary of liberty, to its patriarch." It is now carefully preserved, in a glass case, in the hall of the Washington mansion at Mount Vernon. The first stone that was removed from its walls was also presented to Lafayette by the person who contracted to take it down; and not many weeks after, while conducting General Paoli over its desolate ruins, he received, from the same hand, the last stone from its dismal subterranean dungeons.

On the return of the deputies to the hall, it was proposed that a large deputation of members should be appointed, to proceed immediately to Paris, and announce the auspicious turn of affairs, and the promise of the king to visit the capital. Lafayette was at the head of this deputation. On arriving at Paris, they found the municipality of the city assembled at the Hotel de Ville, surrounded by an immense and excited multitude of the people. On announcing the object of their visit, they were received with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. Bailly, one of their number, was instantly, and by acclamation, declared mayor of Paris, in the place of Flesseles, who, with De Launy, command-

ant of the Bastile, had fallen a victim to the popular fury in the insurrection.

A new institution, destined to have great influence on the current of events, was about to be organized in Paris. Hitherto, the military force of the nation was wholly at the disposal of the crown. The army was the right arm of the king, not less for the oppression of his subjects, than for resisting or chastising the enemies of the country. Now, a National Guard, an army, not of mere mercenaries, but of citizen-soldiers, was to be organized. It was the right arm of the people, for the protection of their rights, not less from oppression at home, than from foreign aggression. The constitution and discipline of this body in the capital, was one of the subjects of deliberation before the municipality of Paris, when the deputation from the National Assembly arrived. The question at length arose, to whom shall we intrust the command of the National Guards? A momentary pause ensued—a pause of deep and anxious thought. Moreau de St. Mèry, one of the electors, rose in his place, and, without uttering a word, pointed to a beautiful marble bust, which adorned one of the niches of the hall. It was the bust of Lafayette, which a few years before had been presented by the state of Virginia to the city of Paris. The effect was perfectly electric. The motion was seconded by acclamation. “Yes! yes!” was shouted from every side—“The very man we want—the only man we desire.”

This appointment was received and confirmed, with the deepest enthusiasm, by the citizen-soldiers of Paris. At the head of that body, nearly two hundred thousand in number, Lafayette met the king at Sèvres, on the 17th of July, and escorted him in triumph to the city. It was a scene without a parallel in the annals of the splendid court of France. Hastily drawn together from all the

varied walks of common life, the royal escort presented as motley an appearance as the militia of New England at a general muster—citizen's dresses, of every style and hue, and, for arms, muskets, pikes, lances, broadswords, scythes, and staves, so unlike the gay caparison, the gorgeous equipment, the glittering armor, of the royal host on a gala-day excursion. Through the serried lines of this mighty host, the king passed up the crowded street, and entered the Hotel de Ville, under an arch of swords crossed over his head. It was a day of rejoicing and triumph to the people, and a day of dismay to the ill-fated advisers of the king. Some of the latter left the kingdom at once, preferring voluntary exile to banishment or death. They were soon followed by large numbers of the aristocracy, who prudently withdrew from a conflict which they could neither control nor withstand. The number of exiles was very great; and they were known, in the various countries of Europe, by the common name of emigrants, or French refugees.

The presence of the king under such an escort, and the liberal promises he made to the people, restored quiet to the capital, and established new relations of confidence between Louis and his subjects. With perfect grace and apparent good will, the king gave his royal sanction to the appointment of Lafayette as commander-in-chief of the National Guards, and authorized him to incorporate into that body the old French Guards, who were all pledged to the cause of the people. This was a delicate and difficult task, requiring all the firmness, tact, and moderation, of Lafayette. Tenacious of distinctions to which they had so long been accustomed, and which they had been trained to believe essential to a sound military organization, the French Guards showed the greatest reluctance to being merged and lost in the

undistinguished mass of citizen-soldiers. But Lafayette was not to be thwarted by ordinary difficulties. To persuasion and reason, he added an argument too powerful and palpable to be resisted. As he had done on a pressing occasion in America, he borrowed money, on his own responsibility, to make up their arrears of pay, to the amount of two hundred and forty thousand dollars. This had the desired effect. The several battalions of the French Guards were quietly dissolved, and the men who composed them were drawn, on a footing of common equality, into the ranks of the National Guards.

The distinctive badge of this body was the tri-colored cockade, devised by Lafayette, in which the blue and red of the city-arms were blended with the white of the royal standard. In announcing to the assembly its adoption by the Guards, Lafayette made the following brief but emphatic speech: "Gentlemen, I bring you a cockade which shall make the tour of the world; and an institution, at once civic and military, which shall change the system of European tactics, and reduce all absolute governments to the alternative of being beaten, if they do not imitate it, or overthrown, if they dare to oppose it." This cockade Lafayette presented to the king at the Hotel de Ville, who immediately placed it in his hat, and showed himself to the people. Loud and long-continued shouts of *Vive le Roi!* resounding from one extremity of the city to the other, rewarded this simple act of conciliation.

The organization of the National Guard was not confined to Paris. It extended into all the cities and towns of France. As if by a common impulse of confidence and respect, Lafayette was looked to as the supreme commander of the whole. Solicitations to this effect were pressed upon him from every quarter. A specific

motion was made to invest him with the powers of a dictator. The ministers also proposed to him to accept the staff of marshal of France. But, so little was he ambitious of personal distinction, where the public good was concerned, that he not only refused all these offers, modestly declaring that he could only think of his own concerns, when he ceased to be useful to his country, but introduced into the assembly a special order, incapacitating any individual from being at the head of more than one department at the same time. His speech on that occasion was thus characterized by one who heard it: "He spoke without any hesitation. He did not reject the proposal with the feeble accent with which Cæsar refused the diadem that Anthony offered on his knee, but reproved, with a virtuous indignation, and a voice that inspired confidence, the improper motion, and the intemperate zeal of the person who proposed it."* He knew well that it was too much power to be safely intrusted to one man. The history of the world shows us many Cæsars and Napoleons, but few Washingtons and Lafayettes.

At the same time that he refused to accept of *these* extended powers, he was offered another command which he could not refuse. The interest which he had taken in negro emancipation, and his efforts to elevate the African race, had drawn toward him the confidence and regards of the free people of color; and when, in the month of October, they sent a deputation from their number, to assert in the assembly their rights as citizens, they waited on General Lafayette, with an earnest request that he would assume the command of a battalion of National Guards, which, in imitation of their white

* It is a curious fact, though not so singular as, at first sight, it appears, that the abbé Fauchet, the author of this rejected motion, was one of those who, at a later period, accused Lafayette of ambition and *Cromwellism*.

fellow-citizens, they had organized among themselves, for the maintenance of order, and the defence of the constitution. This post, as honorable to the receiver as it was creditable to them who sought to confer it, was immediately accepted.

Scenes of violence are almost necessarily incident to a revolution. While human nature remains what it is, there will always be found large numbers of men, so entirely the slaves of passion, as to seize upon every opportunity to overstep the restraints of law and justice, and, under the specious pretence of setting things right, to commit the most extravagant excesses. It was so in Paris at this epoch. When the people had actually taken arms into their hands, and risen in open rebellion against the government, they became inflamed to such intensity of fury, as to be blinded at once to the real objects of the revolution. Instead of destroying oppression, they satisfied themselves with wreaking instant vengeance on the oppressors. This they did in the most summary manner, without trial, without even the form of an accusation. De Launy, commandant of the Bastille, and Flesseles, mayor of Paris, had been sacrificed to popular indignation, in the first insurrection, on the 14th of July. On the arrival of the king in Paris, a few days after, and the dispersion of the old ministry, there was a fearful outbreak of popular fury, which threatened to defeat the best hopes of the nation. The efforts and achievements of Lafayette, on that day, were truly astonishing. More than twenty persons were rescued from the hands of the mob, by his courage, prudence, and decision. Among them was the abbé Cordier, whom they were on the point of hanging to a lamp-post, in front of the Hotel de Ville. While standing by his side, endeavoring to turn away from him the hands of the infuriated multitude, the general's son, then a mere child,

was presented to him by his tutor. With great presence of mind, taking advantage of this unexpected incident, he raised the boy in his arms, and, turning to the crowd, said, "Gentlemen, I have the honor of presenting to you my son." Diverted, momentarily, from their object, they made the welkin ring with acclamations for the infant hero, whom they loved to honor for his father's sake; and when the discordant cry, "*A bas l'abbé !*" was renewed, the abbé was not to be found. That brief lull in the popular tempest had been improved by the ready tact of Lafayette, to remove him to a place of security within the hall. Even females were exposed to similar violence; and Madame de Fontenay, a beautiful and accomplished lady, of a most estimable character, owed her life that day to the firmness, intrepidity, and popularity of the commander of the National Guards.

M. Foulon, one of the members most obnoxious for his insatiable rapacity and extortion while in office, was immediately brought to trial. He was accompanied into the very presence of the court by an infuriated mob, who clamored for instant revenge. Several of the members offered, in vain, to deliver themselves up as hostages, and be personally responsible for M. Foulon; and when all means of restraining the impatience and fury of the multitude had failed, loud shouts and acclamations announced the arrival of Lafayette. On his entrance, he placed himself by the side of the president, and the late tumult was succeeded by the most profound silence. He immediately addressed the multitude, and it would be difficult to describe the power of his discourse, mingled as it was with consummate skill, and the most simple and energetic traits of eloquence. "I am known to you all," said he. "You have appointed me your commander—a station which, while it confers honor, imposes upon me the duty of speaking to you with that liberty and can-



dor which form the basis of my character. You wish, without a trial, to put to death the man who is before you. Such an act of injustice would dishonor you; it would disgrace me. And, were I weak enough to permit it, it would blast all the efforts which I have made in favor of liberty. I will not permit it. But I am far from pretending to save him if he be guilty. I only desire that the orders of the assembly should be carried into execution, and that this man be conducted to prison, to be judged by a legal tribunal. I wish the law to be respected; law, without which there can be no liberty; law, without whose aid I would never have contributed to the revolution of the new world, and without which I will not contribute to the revolution which is preparing here. I, therefore, command that he be conducted to the prison of L'Abbaye St. Germain."

His discourse made a great and favorable impression on such as were within the hearing of his voice; and they assented to his being conducted to prison. But its influence did not extend to the multitudes in the extremity of the hall. Foulon clapped his hands at the proposal of imprisonment, upon which the populace cried out—"They are conniving at his guilt; they wish to save him." Foulon attempted to speak. The following words only could be distinguished: "Respectable assembly! Just and generous people!—I am in the midst of my fellow-citizens—I fear nothing." At these words the phrensy of the people was redoubled. An individual cried out, "Why should you judge a man who has been condemned for thirty years?"

Three different times Lafayette harangued the people, and each time his discourse produced a favorable effect. It is impossible now to know what the result would have been, if the mob had not received a new accession from without of numbers who had not listened to this just and

noble appeal. It was scarcely concluded, when shouts more terrible than had yet been heard, arose from the square of the Hotel de Ville. At the same moment, a number of voices from the extremity of the hall, exclaimed, that the populace from the palais-royal, and the faubourg St. Antoine, had arrived to carry off the prisoner. The most horrible cries now resounded in all directions. A fresh mob pressed against that which already filled the hall. The whole mass moved together, and rushed impetuously toward the chair in which Foulon was seated, without regarding the intercessions of Lafayette, who continued, in a loud voice, to order him to be conducted to prison. But the miserable man was already in the hands of the populace. A few minutes after, it was announced that the mob had hung him to a lamp-iron in front of the Hotel de Ville.

The indignation and sorrow of the general were extreme, at the commission of acts which sullied the first moments of his command. Filled with horror and disgust, and exasperated by this contempt of all authority, he determined at once to resign his office of commander-in-chief; and this determination he immediately conveyed, in the following letter, to the mayor of the city:—

“SIR: Summoned by the confidence of its citizens to the military command of the capital, I have uniformly declared, that in the actual state of affairs, it was necessary, to be useful, that confidence should be full and universal. I have steadily declared to the people, that, although devoted to their interest to my last breath, yet I was incapable of purchasing their favor by unjustly yielding to their wishes. You are aware, sir, that one of the individuals who perished yesterday was placed under a guard, and that the other was under the escort of our troops, both being sentenced by the civil power to undergo a regular trial. Such were the proper means

to satisfy justice, to discover their accomplices, and to fulfil the solemn engagements of every citizen toward the national assembly and the king.

“The people would not hearken to my advice; and the moment when the confidence which they promised, and reposed in me, is lost, it becomes my duty, as I have before stated, to abandon a post in which I can be no longer useful. I am with respect, &c. LAFAYETTE.”

The greatest consternation prevailed on the announcement of this resolution. The municipal council earnestly solicited its recall. The National Assembly added an urgent request to the same effect, declaring that the safety of the city depended on his retaining the command which had been assigned him. The National Guards assembled after twelve o'clock. Twenty-three battalions repaired at once to Lafayette's house. Till nine, P. M., they continued to muster there, with their arms and banners, till the number of battalions amounted to forty-two. In the most urgent manner, and with the most touching expressions of affection and devotion, Lafayette was entreated to withdraw his resignation. A great number of the National Guards then proceeded to the municipality, and requested that body to unite with them in their solicitations. The municipal council, with Bailly at its head, proceeded to the general's house, at eleven o'clock. The apartments, the court, and a part of the street, were filled with the National Guards. The conference was long, earnest, but unsuccessful. The municipality retired at midnight, without having received a definite answer. The next day Lafayette appeared in the hall of the municipality, and thus declared his sentiments and his decision:—

“Gentlemen, I come to acknowledge the last testimonies of your kindness, with all the warmth of a heart whose first desire, after that of serving the people, is to

be loved by them, and to express my astonishment at the importance they deign to attach to an individual, in a free country, where nothing should be of real importance except law. If my conduct, on this occasion, could be regulated by my sentiments of gratitude and affection, I should only reply to the regrets with which you and the National Guards had honored me, by yielding obedience to your entreaties; but, as I was guided by no feeling of private interest when I formed that resolution, so also, in the midst of the various causes for agitation that surround us, I can not allow myself to be governed by my private affections. . . .

“Gentlemen, when I received such touching proofs of affection, too much was done for me, and too little for the law. I am convinced how well my comrades love *me*; I am still ignorant to what degree they cherish the principles on which liberty is founded. Deign to make known to the National Guards this sincere avowal of my sentiments. To command them, it is necessary that I should feel certain that they unanimously believe that the fate of the constitution is suspended upon the execution of law, the only sovereign of a free people—that individual liberty, the security of each man’s home, religious liberty, and respect for legitimate authority, are duties as sacred to them as to myself. We require not only courage and vigilance, but unanimity in these principles; and I thought, and still think, that the constitution will be better served by my resignation, on the grounds I have given, than by my acquiescence in the request with which you have deigned to honor me.”

On receiving this decision, the sixty battalions of the National Guards immediately passed the following resolution: “The National Assembly has decreed that public force should be obedient, and a portion of the Parisian army has shown itself essentially disobedient. Gen-

eral Lafayette has only ceased to command that army, because they have ceased to obey law. He requires a complete submission to the law, not a servile attachment to his person. Let the battalions assemble. Let each citizen-soldier swear on his word and honor to obey the law. Let those who refuse be excluded from the National Guard. Let the wish of the army, thus regenerated, be carried to General Lafayette, and he will conceive it his duty to resume the command."

This resolution was immediately carried into effect. The speeches made on the occasion were as admirable as the scene was affecting and important. It was a spectacle of high moral sublimity, that of a mighty army, after breaking over the wholesome restraints of discipline, and giving vent to evil passions in acts of lawless violence, returning to their general, whom their disobedience had compelled to resign all authority, acknowledging their fault, and, with earnest protestations of future good conduct, entreating him to resume the command, and restore order and peace to the capital.

Lafayette still hesitated, but finally yielded to the universal wish. The season of suspense, during which he was weighing the conflicting claims of duty and inclination, was a season of unusual order and quiet. One great object filled the minds of the people. They thought only of conciliating Lafayette, and refrained from everything that might have a tendency to confirm his resolution to retire. And when, at length, his consent to return was announced, it was received with the loudest demonstrations of enthusiasm, gratitude, and joy.

With a generous devotion to his country, which has few parallels in history, Lafayette declined all compensation for his services as commander-in-chief of the National Guards. He did not even accept a reimbursement of his personal expenses, in the discharge of his duties.

When it was urged upon him, as an act of justice to himself and family, by the municipality of Paris, he replied: "My private fortune secures me from want. It has outlasted two revolutions; and should it survive a third, through the complaisance of the people, it shall belong to them alone."

Bailly, as mayor of Paris, and Lafayette, as commandant of the civic militia, had "a sea of troubles" to encounter in the discharge of their official duties. While they were both as just and honorable as they were firm and fearless, they had to deal with the most wild, unprincipled, and savage mob, that ever haunted the purlieus of a civilized community. The populace of Paris, like a ravening tiger after having tasted blood, was maddened by the first draught of promised liberty, and with demoniac fury insisted upon draining the cup to its dregs. Regardless of consequences, and rushing hither and thither, under the passionate impulses of the moment, they looked upon moderation as an unjust restraint upon their hopes, and upon forms of law as little better than the old slavery under which they had so long groaned. The management of these barbarian hordes, the curbing of this hundred-headed dragon, was truly an herculean task. And he, who, through two consecutive years of wild revolution, succeeded in restraining its fury, and maintaining anything like a fair show of public order, is entitled to the highest rewards of prudence, firmness, and invincible courage.

The preservation of public tranquillity, during this stormy season, demanded and received a large portion of the attention of the National Assembly. On the 10th of August, a decree was passed, making the several municipalities responsible for their own departments. To this end, the national militia and the regular troops were placed at the disposal of the municipalities, having

first taken "the civic oath," which bound them to be faithful to the nation, the king, and the law. The command of Lafayette was thus made subservient to the magistracy of Bailly.

On the 19th of October, Bailly and Lafayette received from the assembly a vote of thanks, "for their extensive labors and indefatigable vigilance," in the discharge of their arduous duties, as conservators of public order. It was passed by acclamation. Mirabeau, in an eloquent and impassioned speech, on the occasion, thus depicted the peculiar difficulties of their position, and the extraordinary character of the crisis which public affairs had reached:—

"Prudence does not allow me to unveil all the delicate circumstances, all the perilous hazards, all the personal dangers, all the threats, all the painful duties attending their position, in a city of seven hundred thousand inhabitants, kept in a state of continual fermentation, after a revolution that has broken all former relations, in a time of terror and confusion, when invisible hands had destroyed abundance, and defeated secretly all the efforts of the chiefs to feed this enormous population, obliged to conquer by their patience, the piece of bread they had already gained by their sweat.

"What a period! when it is necessary to fear and to brave all things; when tumult begets tumult; when riots are produced by the very measures taken to prevent them; when moderation is incessantly requisite, while yet moderation appears equivocal, timid, pusillanimous; when it is necessary to employ much force, while yet force appears tyrannical; when one is besieged by a thousand counsels, and obliged to take counsel of oneself; when one is compelled to dread even citizens whose intentions are pure, but whom distrust, anxiety, and exaggeration, render as dangerous as if they were conspira-

tors ; when one is reduced, even in difficult situations, to yield from prudence, to take the lead in disorder in order to restrain it ; and when it is necessary, in the midst of all these extreme difficulties, to exhibit a serene countenance, to be always calm and collected, to bring into order the most trifling things, to offend no person, to efface all jealousies, to labor incessantly, and to endeavor to please as if there were no labor in the case."

In the memoirs of Mirabeau there is a remarkable note, which was found among his papers, commencing thus : " There is one man in the state, who, from his position, is exposed to the hazards of all events ; to whom successes can offer no compensation for reverses ; and who is, in some manner, answerable for the repose, we may even say the safety, of the public — and that man is Lafayette." He then proceeds to specify the incredible difficulties under which the general labored in the discharge of his mighty trust, and points out the means by which he should be sustained, the most important of which, the confidence and co-operation of the king and his ministers, was constantly withheld from him.

To render the service of the National Guards more efficient, Lafayette caused to be draughted out of the whole body, two companies, one of grenadiers and one of chasseurs, who bound themselves by a special oath, " to make every personal sacrifice for the space of four months, and to be on foot every day, at all hours, if the public safety should require it." " My own head," said he to the officers, " is of little value, but I swear to defend the French constitution, for which we are now laboring, and I shall attach more importance to that oath than to my life."

The names of more than four hundred citizens were inscribed on the rolls of these companies. Their commander, with a large deputation, waited upon Lafayette

with a patriotic and affectionate address, which closed with this solemn protestation : “ We swear to you to perform our service with exactness, not to take advantage of the provisional order, that allows forty-seven days for one day of actual service, only to lay down our arms when you command us to do so, and tell us that the great work of our liberty is completely achieved.” So strong was the attachment of the soldiers to their chief, that many of them felt and resented, as a personal insult, any disrespectful allusion to him. This gave rise to some acts of violence, to prevent a repetition of which Lafayette issued an order, expressing his deep regret for those acts, and declaring that he acknowledged none as his friends, who were not also, always and everywhere, friends of liberty and order

CHAPTER XV.

MOB-RULE IN PARIS.

THE "declaration of rights," proposed by Lafayette, was still under discussion in the assembly, its progress having been interrupted by the turbulent disorders of the times, and by the imperious urgency of other measures. The debates on this and kindred topics, terminating, at length, in the adoption of the constitution, were animated and stormy. The people, as well as the representatives, were divided in opinion, or rather in feeling, upon every question as it arose. If they did not comprehend many of these, it did not lessen the zeal with which they discussed them. The royal *veto*, the only remnant of real power which the constitution proposed to leave to the king, beyond the mere execution of the laws, became now the subject of more alarm and excitement than had formerly been caused by the exercise of all the tremendous prerogatives of the crown. Notwithstanding the vehement declamations of the populace on this subject, it was so little understood by multitudes, that many thought the *veto* was some secret tax, which ought to be abolished, while others believed it to be one of their aristocratic oppressors, and demanded that he should be seized and hung up to a lamp-post.

Deceived, excited, and lashed into fury by the daily and nightly harangues of a class of factious demagogues, who made their rendezvous at the palais-royal, the ignorant rabble were always ready to break out into the most

atrocious excesses of violence. It was repeatedly proposed that they should march in a body to Versailles, and compel the king and the assembly to come to such terms as they should dictate. It was only by incessant watchfulness, and the firm exercise of his high military authority, that Lafayette could keep them in subjection. Martial law was not proclaimed, but the city was *de facto* and necessarily under it. The restraint was felt to be galling. The National Guards were looked upon with suspicion, and charged with aristocracy. Lafayette was sneeringly called the Cromwell of France.

On the 30th of August, an intense excitement was created by the rumor, fabricated on the spot by their leaders, that the life or liberty of Mirabeau was in danger, and a motion was instantly made to proceed *en masse* to Versailles, to rescue him, and at the same time to compel the king and his family to return to Paris. Gathering strength at every step, as it moved wildly along, an almost countless throng was soon on its way to Versailles, when Lafayette, informed of the movement, threw himself in their path, and compelled them, reluctantly, but without open collision, to retrace their steps. Their main purpose, however, of bringing the king and the assembly to Paris, was not abandoned. It was resumed and agitated daily, and cries of, "The king to Paris!" were heard from every quarter.

The court, on the other hand, was plotting to carry the king to Metz, where, intrenched in a strong fortress, he might bid defiance to the people. Lafayette, who had eyes and ears for everything affecting the public weal, was aware of this plot, and revealed it to the count d'Estaing, who was then commandant of the National Guards at Versailles. The count immediately addressed a letter to the queen, unfolding the whole plan, and thus defeated it before it was fully matured.

The scarcity of food in Paris, at this juncture, was appalling, and tended to hasten affairs to a crisis. The poor were clamorous for relief, attributing their physical sufferings, as well as their political grievances, to the king. To guard against sudden ebullitions of violence from this quarter, Lafayette had posted a considerable force at Sèvres, midway between Paris and Versailles, while the king had reinforced the life-guard about his person.

On the second of October, the life-guards gave an entertainment to the officers of the garrison. It was a costly and luxurious banquet, and the king and queen were induced to be present. They were received with the greatest enthusiasm, and escorted in triumph to their apartments. This greatly increased the prevailing dissatisfaction. The feasting at Versailles seemed a heartless mockery of the prevalent distress in Paris. Murmurs of discontent swelled into an angry storm. The populace, suffering from hunger, and the apprehension of greater evils yet to come, was in fearful commotion. Paris resembled the heaving, boiling abyss of some mighty volcano, on the eve of an eruption.

The 5th of October brought in a new element, to increase the wild commotion. The cries for "bread!" had begun to drown the cries of the political factions. Women, made frantic by their own wants, and those of their famishing children, rushed in large numbers to the Hotel de Ville, to tell their wants to the municipality. The session had not commenced, and the place was guarded by a battalion of the National Guards. Refusing the assistance of a company of men, who had now assembled, the women rushed upon the battalion, and drove it back by a volley of stones. Then, forcing open one of the doors, they rushed in, and making their way, unresisted, to the great bell, sounded the tocsin. The whole city was instantly in an uproar. Arming them-

selves with bludgeons, broomsticks, muskets, cutlasses, and every species of available weapon, these frantic amazons now commenced their march toward Versailles, their numbers swelling, and their phrensy rising higher and higher, at each step of their progress. On their departure, the space around the Hotel de Ville was immediately filled up with another throng, equally numerous and tumultuous, whose presence and loud vociferations prevented the departure of their comrades from being observed at once by Lafayette, or reported to him by his patroles. Arrived at the Champs Elysées, they were addressed by a citizen, named Maillard, who, for the purpose of gaining an influence over them, had favored their movement, and promised to lead them to the National Assembly. Representing to them that it would be better to appear before that body as petitioners, than as furies with weapons of death in their hands, he persuaded them to lay aside their arms, and trust only to the strength of their cause.

Pressing forward with all the energy of fury, they soon reached the hall of the assembly. It was in the midst of a most exciting discussion. Rushing in, without the ceremony of an introduction, they at once presented their grievances, and demanded instant relief. Put off with unsatisfactory promises, they resolved to go to the king. The president of the assembly was just about to go to the palace, for a conference with Louis. The women insisted on accompanying him, and he was obliged to consent that twelve of their number should go with him. The king received them graciously, deplored their distress, and promised them all the relief in his power. Softened by this interview with royalty, they returned to their companions with a favorable report, which so exasperated the multitude, that they were with difficulty restrained from tearing them in pieces.

An altercation with the guards ensued, in which some blood was shed.

About midnight, Lafayette arrived from Paris. He had been all day opposing arguments, persuasions, entreaties, and commands, to the settled purpose of the National Guards to proceed to Versailles, and bring back the king. "General," said one of his grenadiers to him, "you do not deceive us, but you deceive yourself. Instead of turning our arms against women, let us go to Versailles to fetch the king, and make sure of his good dispositions, by placing him in the midst of us." A definite proposal was also made, at the same time, that the king should be deposed, Louis XVII. proclaimed, and Lafayette appointed regent. But he would not listen to it for a moment. He was unchangeably true to the king. He had said in the very commencement of the revolution, "If the king rejects the constitution, I will oppose him, and if he accepts it I will defend him." In this he never faltered.

He withstood the earnest solicitations of his army, as well as the turbulent vociferations of the mob. From principle, and a high sense of duty to the constitution, he was utterly opposed to putting any restraint upon the person of the king. He knew that his soldiers were attached to him and respected him. But he had not that unlimited control, that unquestioned sway over their minds, which might have been acquired by leading them to victory. They resolved to go without him, if he would not lead them. The municipality directed him to go, and he was compelled to yield. During this day of agitations, his life had been several times threatened; the fatal lantern had been several times made ready for him, by the furies of that day, and more than twenty maniac muskets had been levelled at his head; but this did not alarm him. He went in obedience to orders,

which he was bound to respect. Halting by the way, he addressed the army, with his usual tact, and obtained from them a renewal of their oath of fidelity to the king and the nation.

On the moment of his arrival, he sent word to Mounier, president of the assembly, that the army had promised to do its duty, and that nothing would be attempted by them contrary to the law. He then hastened to the palace. Accompanied by only two commissaries, he presented himself before the gate of the court, which was filled with Swiss guards. The gate was locked and barred, and entrance was refused. After some parley, however, he was admitted. As he passed along the court, one of the guards exclaimed, "There goes Cromwell." "Sir," replied Lafayette, with dignity, "Cromwell would not have entered here alone." With every demonstration of respect and sorrow, he informed the king of the precautions which had been taken to guard the palace, and to subdue and disperse the mob, assuring him of his own attachment, and that of his army. The king appeared satisfied, and retired to rest. Lafayette had solicited to be intrusted with all the arrangements for protecting the royal family. This was refused. The outposts alone were granted to him, while the life-guards, the Swiss Guards, and a regiment recently introduced from Flanders, had charge of the nearer and more important posts. Of the life-guards, there was but a small number; and, amid the many tumults of that eventful night, some accessible points had been overlooked and left unguarded. One of the iron-gates had even been left open.

Lafayette had made the most careful and judicious dispositions of his forces. He had personally inspected every post; he had sent out numerous patrols. The crowd had dispersed; it was nowhere to be seen. Everything seemed perfectly quiet, and, at five o'clock in

the morning, he took some refreshment, and threw himself on a bed for a moment's rest, of which he had been totally deprived for the last twenty-four hours.

At this moment, the mob, roused by some tiger-spirit from their brief slumbers, began to stir, and to gather about the environs of the palace. One of the life-guards ordered them to retire. High words ensued, and they were fired on from a window. Infuriated by this assault, they instantly rushed on, passed the gate which had been carelessly left open, and made their way into the palace. Ascending a staircase, without molestation, they were entering one of the upper corridors, when their progress was arrested by two life-guardsmen, who, heroically defending themselves against overwhelming numbers of assailants, retreated step by step, keeping the infuriated mob at bay, in the hope that the royal family might escape, though by the sacrifice of their own lives. One of them, alarmed at the progress they were making toward the royal apartments, shouted, "Save the queen!" The cry rang through the halls, and reached the ears of the queen. In an agony of terror, she rushed into the king's apartments. Overcoming the feeble resistance of the two guards whom they first encountered, the assailants burst into the queen's bed-chamber. Finding the bed just forsaken, in the impotence of their rage, they pierced it with their swords and knives, throwing everything into complete disorder, and then pushed on toward the apartments of the king. But they were immediately checked by the life-guards, who were posted in considerable numbers at that point.

At this moment, the French Guards, composing a part of Lafayette's command, and stationed near the palace, hearing the uproar, hastened to the spot, and instantly overawed and dispersed the mob. Arriving at the door behind which the life-guards were stationed, they cried

out, "Open the door! We are friends! The French Guards have not forgotten that you saved their regiment at Fontenoi!" The door was instantly thrown open, and they rushed into each other's arms.

All was confusion and tumult without. Lafayette, who had laid down only for a few moments, without closing his eyes, caught the first sound of disturbance, ran out, leaped upon the first horse he met with, and galloped into the thickest of the fray. He there found several of the life-guards overpowered by the mob, and on the point of being sacrificed. At the risk of his own life, he dashed in and saved them, at the same time ordering all his troops to hasten to the palace, for the protection of the king. Alone, in the midst of the enraged multitude, from whose savage grasp he had that moment wrenched their prey, Lafayette had turned upon himself the violence of their disappointed rage. "Down with him!" was the cry. A musket was aimed at his head. He saw it, and coolly commanded the people to bring the man to him. Instantly recovering their old regard for the man of the people, they turned upon the culprit, dashed out his brains on the pavement, and trampled him under their feet.

Flying to the palace, Lafayette was instantly surrounded by his soldiers, who promised, in the presence of the king, to protect his person, or perish in the attempt. At this moment, the life-guards, whom he had just rescued from the murderous fury of the mob, flung up their caps and shouted, "*Lafayette for ever!*" The inmates of the palace, who witnessed the scene, were equally enthusiastic in their acknowledgments of gratitude to him, whom they warmly embraced as their preserver. Madame Adelaide, the sister of the king, ran up to him, and clasping him in her arms, exclaimed, "Gen-

eral, you have saved us !”* Even the queen, with all her prejudices and distrust, was compelled to acknowledge him as the sole instrument of their deliverance — an acknowledgment which she often, afterward, repeated.

While this scene was enacting within the palace, the angry multitudes without were insisting, with loud and discordant cries, upon the main object of their embassy. “To Paris !” — “To Paris !” — “The king to Paris !” was shouted by thousands of voices, till the welkin rung again with the cry. A council was called, to consider what should be done. Lafayette was requested to attend it, but refused, through a delicate suspicion that his presence might impose some restraint on the free expression of opinion. When it was decided that the king should comply with the wishes of the people, they were informed of it, by slips of paper thrown from the windows. A shout of triumphant satisfaction arose from the mighty throng. Louis then presented himself to them, in a balcony, accompanied by Lafayette, as surety for the fulfilment of his pledge. He was greeted with loud and long-continued shouts of “*Vive le roi !*” The queen was then called for. When she appeared, with her children, she was received with insulting shouts and threats. “It was in that position,” says Lavallette, “that I beheld, for the first time, that unfortunate princess. She was dressed in white ; her head was bare, and adorned with beautiful locks. Motionless, and in a modest and noble attitude, she appeared to me like a

* “I owe you more than my life,” said Madame Adelaide to Lafayette ; “I owe you that of the king and of my poor nephew.” When the royal family presented themselves at the Hotel de Ville, Lafayette felt a hand pressing his with a feeling of deep gratitude, and he was gratified to find that it was that of Madame Elizabeth. This generous-minded princess, at a later period, evinced her grateful remembrance of the service, by endeavoring to destroy a document which his enemies at court designed to use as an instrument of his destruction.

victim on the block. The enraged populace were not moved at the sight of wo in all its majesty. Imprecations increased, and the unfortunate princess could not even find support in the king." Lafayette then came forward, and begged to know what she intended to do. "I shall accompany the king," she replied with firmness. Then, turning to the people, he raised his voice to address them, but in vain. His words were lost in the wild uproar. If he would be understood, he must speak to the eye. Stooping, and taking the hand of the queen, he kissed it with profound respect. Swayed by their confidence and affection for one who had never betrayed the trust reposed in him, and transported at this significant act, the multitude instantly responded to it, with loud acclamations, "*Long live the queen !*" — "*Long live Lafayette !*" Thus, by the fidelity, firmness, and address, of one man, and he distrusted as an enemy, the royal family was saved from the hands of an infuriated, starving rabble, the tide of popular indignation was turned suddenly back, and threats of bloodthirsty rage and revenge were exchanged for shouts of loyalty, confidence, and affection.

The life-guards were still in danger. They had fired upon the mob, and had only escaped their fury by the timely interposition of Lafayette. Kind-hearted and generous by nature, attached to his guards, and unwilling to expose them to the hazards of another meeting with the populace, without an attempt at reconciliation, the king earnestly requested Lafayette to use his influence with the people on their behalf. "With all my heart," he replied; and taking one of them by the hand, he led him to the balcony, and presented him to the people. Then, clasping him in his arms, as a friend, he put on him his own shoulder-belt, as if he would say, "We acknowledge one master; we are united in one

cause." The populace assented with shouts, and the reconciliation was complete.

Lafayette had yet a difficult and delicate task to perform. These hordes of savage men and intoxicated women, rendered doubly frantic by the excesses in which they had indulged, and inflamed with the idea that they had achieved a great victory over their oppressors, were now to be sent back to their miserable houses in the metropolis. Without a leader, without that unity of object which bound them together in their march to Versailles, there was infinite danger of riot and bloodshed. The royal family, with all its attendants and guards, and the National Assembly, were also, by promise, to travel the same way. It required no ordinary skill in a commander to manage, at once, such heterogeneous materials. But Lafayette was as fertile in resources, as he was indefatigable in the use of them. By mingled persuasions and commands, he first induced the mob to file off in separate bands toward the city, as the head of the grand escort. He then sent after them a detachment of the army, to prevent them from turning back. In the quiet belief that the whole royal train was bringing up the rear, they drove madly on, shouting and singing like so many infernal furies, with every species of frantic and disgusting gesticulation. Arrived at the Palais Royal, they were quietly dispersed by the magistrates, and Paris was reduced to something like order and repose, before the royal *cortége* had set out from Versailles.

Received by the municipality and the people of Paris, with demonstrations of respect and joy, the king took possession of the Tuileries, which had not been occupied for a century. The charge of it was confided to the National Guards of the city, and their commander was thus made responsible to the nation for the safety of

the king. It was a difficult and an unenviable position, subject, on every side, to the suspicions and jealousies of all the various parties that agitated the nation. Distrusted by the court, and especially by the queen, whose influence with the king was unlimited, and who could not believe that a man so consistently devoted to the popular cause, could at the same time be sincere in his attachment to the king—hated and maliciously branded as a jailer by the nobles, who hoped yet to recover possession of the royal person, that they might prolong their despotism in his name—and almost equally hated and distrusted by those radical agitators, who, having nothing to lose, thought there was nothing to be gained by a change which did not utterly uproot and overturn the ancient order of things—Lafayette had no other guide, amid the difficulties which surrounded him, than an honest, upright mind, conscious of right, and fearless of consequences, while satisfied that he was in the line of his duty.

It was no part of the policy, or the wish of Lafayette, to put a restraint upon the freedom of the king. He was perfectly sincere in desiring to secure for France a constitutional monarchy. To his plan, the king was as necessary as the constitution—the legitimate executive, as the legitimate law. With this he was satisfied in the beginning, and with this he continued to be satisfied through all the stages of that political tornado, which, proceeding from simple reform to the wildest anarchy, swept away not only the forms of government, but the very foundations of society. With this he remained satisfied, down to the end of his life; and this, after the lapse of forty years, he lived to see accomplished, as he fully believed, in the revolution of 1830. Never carried away by the lawless enthusiasm of the times, he held on, firm and steadfast, to the measure of reform with which

he originally set out. When others, demanding more, rushed madly by in a path which he foresaw could only lead to ruin, he paused, held back, resisted, and finally abandoned them altogether. And the result justified his foresight. That result is summed up in the "Reign of Terror," the martial despotism of Napoleon, and the final restoration of the ancient *régime*.

There was no leaven of aristocratic pride in Lafayette's preference for the king. He had voluntarily and heartily relinquished all the hereditary rights and privileges of nobility. He dropped even the title of marquis, and refused to be recognised by it, as a distinctive appellation. He was as sincere and consistent in his republicanism, as the sternest reformer in the new world. But he was thoroughly sensible of the prevalent defects in the French character, and saw infinite danger in the idea of throwing open the chief-magistracy to oft-recurring political contests. With a proud, wealthy, ambitious, but broken-down and disappointed aristocracy, on the one hand, and an ill-educated populace and numberless factions of grasping adventurers, on the other, the choice would be attended with insurmountable difficulties. Each new election would be the signal for a new revolution, and civil dissension, anarchy, and feud, would prepare the way for some new tyrant to restore, in all its hateful oppressiveness, the sway of an absolute despotism.

In this, the disinterestedness of his patriotism was most conspicuous. Had he sought his own aggrandizement, he might have put forth as fair a claim to the chief-magistracy, as any other man in France. With unparalleled popularity, and with the command of the most important division of the national militia, he might, without presumption, have promised himself the fortune of a Washington, or assumed, without fear of the result,

the more questionable attitude of a Cromwell. But selfishness had no place in his system of public duty. He looked to the interests of France and the French people, and in all his endeavors to promote them, listened only to the generous counsels of an enlarged understanding, and an enlightened conscience. History furnishes few examples of firmness, consistency, and self-sacrifice, and none of a steadfast adherence to one magnanimous idea, through a long, eventful, and stormy life, more striking than Lafayette. In one of his confidential letters of this period, he says: "Do not calculate what I *can* do, for I shall not make use of that power. Do not calculate what I *have* done, for I shall accept no recompense. Calculate the public advantage, the welfare and liberty of my country, and believe that I shall refuse no burden, no danger, provided that, at the hour of tranquillity, I may return to private life; *for there now remains but one step for my ambition—that of arriving at zero.*"

The better to understand the true position of Lafayette, at this juncture, let us take a bird's-eye glance at the parties then in the ascendant, or engaged in the conflict for the ascendancy. The king was in Paris, seemingly free, but actually a prisoner. The duke of Orleans, father of the late king, Louis Philippe, a man of prodigious wealth,* and of shameless profligacy, was plotting the death or deposition of the king, he cared not which, in the hope of being made regent, or lieutenant-general of the kingdom. By some of those who built their hopes of self-aggrandizement upon a change of dynasty, he was distinctly named as the successor to Louis XVI., and his wealth and aptness in intrigue gave him great facilities for creating and increasing the agitations of the country. Mirabeau, suspected of intimate

* His annual income was about \$2,500,000.

associations with the duke,* aspired to the ministry, well knowing that, though the king wears the crown and the purple, the ministers are the real depositaries of all executive power. Though nominally of the same conservative party with Lafayette, he was jealous of his popularity and power, and humbled and vexed by the personal purity of his life. Corrupt in heart and manners, degraded from his rank in society by the precocious villainy of his early manhood, and smarting under the consciousness that, however feared or flattered as a political partisan, he could not be respected as a man—the language of his heart toward Lafayette was—

“ There is a daily beauty in his life,
Which makes me ugly.”

He hated him, because he was too high above him to admit the hope of outstripping him. And, with a petty malice, which showed the real littleness of his nature, he sneeringly called him a Grandison-Cromwell. The liberals, represented in the assembly by Duport, Barnave, and the two Lameths, and the radicals, or destructives, among the people, guided and warped by the infernal counsels of Danton, Petion, Marat, and Robespierre, were equally opposed to the conservative views of Lafayette, and equally afraid of the immense power he had gained by the recent movements.

Insensible to fear, and unshaken in his high purpose by the distrust and jealousy of those whom he was most eager to serve, Lafayette determined, in spite of every obstacle, to uphold the king and the constitution. For this end, he resolved, in the first place, to get rid of the duke of Orleans. He accordingly sought an interview with that prince, in which, by the manly plainness of his speech, and the firmness of his manner, he intimidated

* “ What signifies it to you,” said Mirabeau to Mounier, “ whether the king be called Louis or Philippe ?”

him into an agreement, not only to withdraw from the capital, but even to quit the country for a season. The king, feigning to be reluctantly forced into the measure, wrote to the duke, saying that it was absolutely necessary that either he or Lafayette should retire, that, in the existing state of public opinion, the choice between them was in no way doubtful. He therefore gave him, as a pretext for his absence, a commission for England.

Mirabeau was indignant at this arrangement, and sent word both to the duke and to Lafayette, that he would denounce them in the tribune, if the departure of the former for England should take place. The duke was shaken in his purpose. But Lafayette, as little moved by threats as by promises, went to him again with an imperative order to depart. At this second interview, the duke affected great surprise and regret at the efforts of his party to make disturbance in his name, and assured the general that he would endeavor, when at London, to discover the authors of these movements. To which Lafayette replied, "You are more interested than any other person, since no one is so deeply compromised as yourself." At their last meeting, the duke remarked, "My enemies pretend that you have *proofs* against me." — "They must be rather mine who assert it," replied Lafayette; "if I were able to produce proofs against you, I should already have had you arrested, and I give you warning that I am diligently seeking such proofs everywhere." This perfect frankness and fearlessness of tone, together with his own consciousness of guilt, decided the point, and he immediately left the country.

Mirabeau, on receiving information of his departure, instead of putting his threat into execution, gave vent to his private vexation, by exclaiming, "*The fool is not worth the trouble that is taken about him.*" Mirabeau was no coward; but he had too much of "the better

part of valor" to come to an open conflict with "the man of the people," and "the savior of the king." His speech was already written, full of vehement denunciation, and he was on the way to the assembly to pronounce it, when he met, on the bridge of Sevres, one of Lafayette's aids, who was returning to Paris with the duke's passport. This, and the duke's letter to the assembly, intended to vindicate himself, but at the same time fully disclosing the manly and loyal part which Lafayette had assumed in the matter, so effectually quenched the fire and silenced the thunder of his intended *philipic*, that there was nothing of Mirabeau left in it, and he had no resource but to commit it to the flames.

CHAPTER XVI.

1790—THE REVOLUTION — THE FEDERATION — THE
FLIGHT OF THE KING.

A PERIOD of comparative quiet succeeded the turbulent epoch of the king's return to Paris. The last three months of the year 1789 were not distinguished by any important event. Louis was, however, far from being contented in his new position. He felt himself a captive in his palace, and endeavored to make it appear that he was so. The nobles were continually harping upon this idea, and even thought, on the strength of it, to annul the laws to which he had given a constrained assent. The queen complained to Lafayette that the king was not free, alleging in proof of the position, that the duty of guarding the palace was assigned to the national militia, while it appropriately belonged to the king's life-guards. The latter had been dismissed after the scenes of the 5th and 6th of October. Lafayette immediately inquired if their recal would afford any satisfaction to herself or her royal husband, promising that he would instantly use measures to effect it. The queen hesitated to answer, but could not consistently refuse a boon which but a moment before she had represented as so desirable. Lafayette lost no time in presenting the matter to the municipality, which, at his request, sent a formal petition to his majesty, to recal his life-guards, offering, at the same time, to share with them the duty of the palace-

The king and queen were gratified by this mark of regard to their wishes. The effect, however, was not what they desired; and their advisers, who hoped to gain a point by representing them as not free in their movements, persuaded them, after all, to reject the proposition, under the pretence that the king would not expose the life-guards to the risk of being murdered by the populace of Paris. To the extreme mortification of the queen, who communicated this reply to Lafayette, he informed her majesty that he had just met one of the corps, walking in full uniform in the palais-royal, not only without fear, but in no danger of molestation from the people.

At the very beginning of the year 1790, symptoms of fresh disturbances began to appear. The distant mutterings of a gathering storm were heard, and many strong hearts trembled. Rumor, with her hundred tongues, devised the most alarming plots of "treason, stratagem, and spoils." Bailly and Lafayette were to be assassinated, the king forcibly carried off by a foreign army, and the assembly blown into the air, by the agency of some unknown and unsuspected Guy Fawkes. The investigations which followed these rumors, revived, in all its force, a suspicion that the court was acting a double part, and that, if there was conspiracy anywhere, it was within the walls of the Tuileries. To lull this to rest, the king proceeded to the assembly, on the 4th of February, and delivered a speech replete with sound sense, benevolent feeling, and generous confidence in the people, declaring his solemn intention to carry out to the letter every measure of reform which it should be the will of the nation to adopt. The hall rang with plaudits, and the king was conducted back to the Tuileries, amid the shouts of a grateful people.

In this the king was sincere, but the court was hypo-

critical. The rejoicings which everywhere responded to the language of the throne, were followed by new jealousies, and distrust toward all his intimate advisers. Lafayette, true to his post, warned the queen, and expostulated with the ministers; but in vain. He was looked upon by them as the enemy of the king, and his prudent and friendly counsels were utterly and petulantly rejected.

About this time, Mirabeau transferred himself to the court,* to whose service Bouillé, a distinguished general of the army, and a relative of Lafayette, was also devotedly attached. The latter was a true monarchist, and opposed to all the reforms of the revolution; but Mirabeau, without abandoning the popular cause, was only becoming more loyal in his wish to retain the kingly element in the frame-work of the government. Lafayette had undergone no change. Firm alike in his loyalty and his patriotism, he was as truly devoted to the king as to his country, and resolved, at all sacrifices, to maintain the integrity of both. If the queen had listened to reason rather than to prejudice, if the court had given its confidence to the true-hearted and irreproachable Lafayette as freely as to those evil-minded persons who made it their interest to abuse him, the revolution, though turbulent, might have been a bloodless one—the Reign of Terror, and the subversion of order, civil, religious, and

* The reception of Mirabeau, as a partisan, and the liberal wages allowed him (\$10,000 per month), indicate the great straits to which the royal pair were reduced, as well as the singular inveteracy of the queen's personal prejudice against Lafayette. It was known to her at the time when she granted him a private interview, that, a few months previous, Mirabeau had proposed that a decree should be passed, declaring that the person of *the king only* was inviolable, while Lafayette insisted that the queen should also be included in the provision; to which Mirabeau replied, "Well, general, since you will have it so, let her live. A humiliated queen may be useful; but a beheaded queen can only serve for the composition of some poor tragedies."

social, might have been averted—the empire, with its iron despotism, and its exhausting wars of conquest, might never have been. Louis XVI. might have enjoyed a long, peaceful, and happy reign, transmitting to his own children a crown more glorious than that of absolute power, and a name fairer, brighter, and worthier, than the most splendid achievements of royal heroism and imperial conquest could make it.

Amid all the irregularities and extravagances of the radical reformers of the day, Lafayette stood firm and almost alone, in the pure unyielding simplicity of genuine republicanism, as far removed from anarchy and excess on one side, as from despotism and slavery on the other. While he remained unmoved and unchangeable in his adherence to the throne, and in his advocacy of all its just prerogatives, he was ready to sacrifice at once, and for ever, all the honors and advantages of personal rank, though inherited through a long line of noble ancestry, and take his place among the mass of his countrymen, on a footing of perfect equality. When it was proposed to abolish all hereditary titles of distinction, he cordially and powerfully advocated the measure, and from that moment laid aside the “marquis” from his long list of names, like an old wornout livery, and refused to be recognised by it, in both public and private life. This question arose unexpectedly, during the discussion of a motion to remove from the statue of Louis XIV. the slaves chained at the monarch’s feet, as slaves, even marble ones, would disgrace the soil of liberated France. The debate was an exciting one. In the midst of the confusion of many voices, one was heard above the rest. It was that of Lambel, who exclaimed: “Since we must efface all the monuments of pride, we must not only overthrow statues, but suppress all the titles of dukes, counts, marquises” — He had not finished his sentence,

when Charles Lameth and Lafayette rose at the same moment to speak. Lameth claimed precedence, and seconded the motion. Lafayette followed, saying: "The motion that has been made, and which M. Lameth supports, is so necessary a consequence of the constitution, that it can not occasion the slightest difficulty. I content myself with uniting in it with my whole heart."

In the course of the discussion, the objection was raised that these dignities were often bestowed, as a reward for public services, "And what," the objector asked, "would you substitute for the words—such a man was created count, or marquis, for services rendered the state?"—"Let it be merely said," replied Lafayette, with truly Roman simplicity; "that, on such a day, such a person saved the state." Moderate in all things, and well knowing that, as the substance was already gone, the shadow was not worth contending about, he was willing that those who wished to retain their titles should be at liberty to do so. But the measure was carried to the extreme, and all titles were peremptorily abolished.

So unbounded was the popularity, and so mighty the influence of Lafayette at this period, that the court, always distrustful of him, began to entertain the most absurd dread of his ascendancy. They affected to be greatly alarmed at a rumor which was then put in circulation by some mischievous persons, that he was about to be offered again the supreme command of all the National Guards of the kingdom. "It was but natural," remarks Thiers, "that those who did not know Lafayette should feel this distrust; and his enemies, of all parties, strove to augment it. How, in fact, could it be supposed, that a man possessing such popularity, at the head of a considerable force, would not abuse it? Nothing, however, was farther from his intention. He had

resolved to be nothing but a citizen, and, whether from virtue, or well-judged ambition, the merit is the same. Human pride must be placed somewhere—it is virtue to place it in doing what is right.”

The winter of 1790 was marked by every species of factious plot and private intrigue, that could indicate or illustrate the festering corruption of the body politic. Among other alarms, there were anonymous letters addressed to the ministers, announcing a conspiracy, the object of which was to place upon the throne a person of importance, whose name was not mentioned. The matter was revealed to Lafayette, with the expectation that he would betray some consciousness of the plot. With perfect openness and unreserve, he replied, that the duke of Orleans was the only prince on whom suspicion could alight. The queen rejoined, regarding him with a piercing look, that “it was not necessary to be a prince to pretend to the crown.” Lafayette, interrupting her, coolly replied, “At least, madame, I know no one but he who would desire it.”

The intrepidity and personal influence of Lafayette, and the varied nature of his duties, as conservator of the public peace, were happily illustrated by a singular incident which occurred in the early part of this year. A man, accused of having stolen a bag of oats, was seized by the people, and, in spite of all the efforts of the guard, had, as was supposed, just been put to death. Lafayette, with Romeuf, one of his aides, passing that way in a carriage, was informed of the circumstance. Ordering the coachman to drive on as far as possible, they alighted, and threw themselves into the midst of the crowd. One man raised his bludgeon against Romeuf, who had laid hold of the body, to protect it from further violence. Lafayette placed himself astride of it, and, addressing the crowd, told them they were mere assassins. But, as

he could not believe them all to be guilty, he called on them to designate the murderers. A man being pointed out to him as the ringleader, he seized him by the collar, exclaiming, "I will show you that every function is honorable, when we execute the law." He then dragged the cowardly culprit through the crowd, and handed him over to the police. The patrol of the National Guards pressed around him, and were not willing to leave him alone, exposed to the fury of the mob. But, having delivered up his prisoner, he ordered the guards to make a way, and, mounting the parapet, harangued the populace in terms of the severest reproach for their disorderly and criminal conduct. He told them they were the dupes of factious men and robbers, who wished to compel the National Assembly and the king to quit Paris, that they might devote the city to fire and plunder; but that the tranquillity and property of the capital being confided to his protection, he would crush all who should dare to disturb the public order. He was confident he should be supported by the people; but, if he were quite alone, he would resist crime, and cause law to be respected, till his latest breath; and, while in the upright discharge of that duty, he did not believe there existed a man bold enough to attack him personally.

At that moment, he perceived a new movement in the mighty mass before him, and soon learned that the robber, whom he supposed dead, having revived, the mob was about to hang him, he flew to the spot, with Romeuf and a few of the National Guards, rescued the poor wretch from their hands, and consigned him to a place of safe-keeping and friendly care, where he soon entirely recovered. Then, recommencing his speech to the people, he rejoiced with them that they had not been guilty of murder, warned them to be always quiet, orderly, and obedient to law, and ordered them to separate; which

they immediately did, shouting, as they went, "Vive Lafayette!" The queen, on hearing of this incident, accompanied with commendations of Lafayette's deep sensibility to the interests and rights of all classes of the people, replied, "Yes, the general has sensibility for everybody but kings."

The constitution of France was now so far consolidated, that the way was prepared for the solemn ceremony of its public adoption and ratification. This, it was resolved should be done, with great pomp, on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille. The ceremony was directed to take place in the Champ de Mars, a spacious area, extending from the Military School to the bank of the Seine, and comprising about five hundred acres of ground. Lafayette was charged with the whole arrangement of the festival, and appointed chief of the Federation, in his quality as commandant of the Parisian guard. The object of this Federation was the union into one body of all the National Guards of France — a million of citizen-soldiers, pledged to each other, to the king, and to the nation, to support and defend the constitution, at the hazard of their lives.

To prepare the vast amphitheatre, twelve thousand laborers were employed. Apprehending that, even with this force, the work could not be finished in season, the whole population of Paris volunteered their assistance. A scene of the most exciting activity and enthusiasm ensued. All classes, and both sexes, mingled in the glorious work, marching with order and decorum to the spot, to the thrilling notes of martial music, and under banners with appropriate devices. The most perfect harmony prevailed to the last. The people felt that they were laboring for themselves — laying the foundations of their temple of liberty.

The object of all this preparation was the administra-

tion of the civic oath—the oath to be taken alike by the king, the assembly, the army, and the people, to support and preserve the constitution, as the sacred charter of the nation's rights.

On the 10th of July, the deputations from the various departments assembled, in great numbers, in the house of commons of Paris. Lafayette was chosen president by acclamation. He wished to decline the honor, but could not prevail upon the assembly to excuse him. Several resolutions were immediately presented, by members from the different departments, expressive of the nation's gratitude to Lafayette, their high sense of his invaluable services, their confidence in the purity of his principles, and their affection for his person. The president refused to put them to vote, and, after the usual preliminaries, adjourned the meeting. On the 13th, the king and the National Assembly received the confederates in the hall of the assembly, where Lafayette, as president and major-general of the Federation, pronounced an eloquent address to the assembly, closing with these emphatic sentences: "May the celebration of the great day be the signal of the conciliation of all parties, of the forgetfulness of all resentments, of peace, and of public felicity. Do not fear that our holy enthusiasm can lead us beyond the limits prescribed by public order. Under the auspices of law, the standard of liberty can never become that of license. We swear to you, gentlemen, to respect the law, of which we are the defenders; we swear it on our honor; and freemen and Frenchmen can not give their word in vain."

Turning, then, to the king, he addressed him as possessing "the most glorious of all titles—that of *chief of Frenchmen, and king of a free people*. Enjoy, sire, the reward of your virtues. Let this pure homage, which despotism never could command, be the glory and rec-

ompense of a citizen-king. The National Guards of France swear to your majesty an obedience that shall have no limit but that of law—an affection that shall have no end but that of life.”*

The 14th at length arrived. The day and the scene are thus eloquently described by Carlyle: “In spite of plotting aristocrats, lazy, hired spademen, and almost of destiny itself (for there has been much rain), the Champ de Mars is fairly ready. The morning comes, cold for a July one; but such a festivity would make Greenland smile. Through every inlet of that national amphitheatre—for it is a league in circuit, cut with openings at due intervals—floods in the living throng, covering, without tumult, space after space. Two hundred thousand patriotic men, and, twice as good, one hundred thousand patriotic women, all decked and glorified as one can fancy, sit waiting in this Champ de Mars. What a picture, that circle of bright-dyed life, spread up there on its thirty-seated slope, leaning, one would say, on the thick umbrage of those avenue trees—for the stems of them are hidden by the height; and all beyond it were greenness of the summer-earth, with the gleam of waters, or white sparklings of stone edifices. On remotest steeple, and invisible village-belfry, stand men with spy-glasses. On the heights of Chaillot are many-colored, undulating groups; round, and far on, over all the circling heights that embosom Paris, it is as one more or less peopled amphitheatre, which the eye grows dim with measuring. Nay, heights have cannon, and a floating-battery of cannon is on the Seine. When eye fails, ear

* The reply of the king was equally noble and touching. “Repeat to your fellow-citizens,” said he, “that I should wish to speak to them as I now speak to you; repeat to them that their king is their father, their brother, their friend; that he can only be happy in their happiness, great in their glory, powerful in their liberty, rich in their prosperity, and sorrowful in their calamity.”

shall serve. And all France, properly, is but one amphitheatre ; for, in paved town and unpaved hamlet, men walk, listening, till the muffled thunder sounds audibly on their horizon, that they, too, may begin swearing and firing. But now, to streams of music, come federates enough, for they have assembled on the Boulevard St. Antoine, and come marching through the city with their eighty-three department-banners, and blessings not loud but deep ; comes National Assembly, and takes its seat under its canopy ; comes royalty, and takes seat on a throne beside it ; and Lafayette, on a white charger, is here, and all the civic functionaries ; and the federates form dances, till their strictly military evolutions and manœuvres can begin. Task not the pen of mortal to describe them ; truant imagination droops — declares that it is not worth while. There is wheeling and sweeping to slow, to quick, to double-quick time. *Sieur Motier*, or *Generalissimo Lafayette* — for they are one and the same, and he is general of France, in the king's stead, for twenty-four hours — must step forth with that sublime, chivalrous gait of his, solemnly ascend the steps of Fatherland's altar, in sight of heaven and of scarcely-breathing earth, and pronounce the oath, ' To king, to law, to nation,' in his own name and that of armed France ; whereat there is waving of banners, and acclaim sufficient. The National Assembly must swear, standing in its place ; the king himself, audibly. The king swears ; and now be the welkin split with *vivats* ; let citizens, enfranchised, embrace ; armed federates clang their arms ; above all, that floating-battery speak. It has spoken — to the four corners of France ! From eminence to eminence bursts the thunder, faint heard, loud repeated. From Arras to Avignon — from Metz to Bayonne — over Orleans and Blois — it rolls, in cannon-recitative ; Puy bellows of it amid his granite mount-

ains ; Pau, where is the shell-cradle of great Henri. At far Marseilles, one can think, the ruddy evening witnesses it ; over the deep-blue Mediterranean waters, the castle of If, ruddy tinted, darts forth from every cannon's mouth its tongue of fire ; and all the people shout. Yes, France is free ! Glorious France, that has burst out so, into universal sound and smoke, and attained — the Phrygian *cap* of liberty !”

In the midst of this scene of intense and intoxicating enthusiasm and overpowering excitement, Lafayette, drenched with rain, and almost overcome with heat, was hailed by a stranger in the crowd, who, advancing with a bottle in one hand and a glass in the other, said, “General, you are hot ; take a glass” — at the same time pouring out a full bumper. A momentary suspicion of treason crossed the minds of some of his friends ; but Lafayette, as unsuspecting as he was openhearted and generous, looking calmly at the stranger, took the glass, and drained it at a single draught. The people, with shouts, applauded his confidence ; while he, with a smile of complaisance, cast a benevolent and confiding look upon the multitude, as if he would say, “I fear nothing ; I suspect nothing but good from you.” The language of the look was understood, and received with renewed shouts and *vivats*.

The modesty of the president of the Federation inducing him to refuse all acknowledgment from that body, the deputies, by a private arrangement, assembled at a very early hour, on the morning of the 16th, before the arrival of the president, and voted an address, which was prepared during the day ; and, at a similar meeting on the following morning, unanimously adopted. They then proceeded, *en masse*, to the house of Lafayette, and addressed him, by their senior member, in the following terms :—

“SIR: He who, at the moment when the Constituent Assembly was threatened with the vengeance of despotism, dared to speak of the rights of man as a freeman himself—he, who had co-operated, in so glorious a manner, in the revolution of the new world, ought, undoubtedly, to devote himself to the one his own fellow-citizens have so lately achieved, and prove himself to them, also, the friend and defender of liberty. But you, who have done so much for the public cause, have determined to receive no recompense; you have refused the homage prepared for you by the hearts of our grateful citizens; you withdrew from our applause and testimonies of affection, and you have shown us that a great man never conceives he has done enough for his country. The deputies of the National Guards of France will retire with regret, not having been able to appoint you their chief. The constitutional law arrests the impulse of our hearts; and it is your glory, that you proposed that law yourself, and fixed a limit to our gratitude. But, if you can not become our chief, you shall be for ever our friend, our guide, our model. . . . Receive the expressions of joy and affection, which your presence excites, as the homage due to him whom our regenerated country has placed at the head of her defenders.”

Taken by surprise, and overcome with emotion, the general briefly replied, in a manner worthy of himself and of the principles he had always inculcated. “My emotions, gentlemen, do not allow me to find expressions adequate to my feelings. I have often reminded you, that the National Guards of France, assembled here, ought to present no address, except to the National Assembly and the king. Judge, therefore, whether I can consent to the honorable and touching exception you design to make in my favor. No, gentlemen, permit me to consider it as a testimony of friendship to your

Parisian brothers-in-arms, in the person of their commander. . . .”

On the 20th, the session of the Federates was closed by an address from the president, as rich in sublime moral sentiment, as it was eloquent in thought and feeling. A single paragraph will illustrate the spirit and style of the whole : “ Equality, gentlemen, is not injured by the exercise of those authorities which public utility renders necessary, and which the constitution has established ; but it is injured by the slightest pretension which exceeds the limit traced by law. *Let ambition obtain no power over you. Love the friends of the people ; but reserve blind submission for law, and enthusiasm for liberty.* Pardon this counsel, gentlemen, you granted me the privilege of giving, when you showered on me every species of favor a fellow-citizen can receive ; *and my heart, in its delicious emotion, could not avoid experiencing a feeling of alarm.*”

The spirit of union, of harmony, of fraternity, seemed to pervade all ranks, from the king to the beggar, and to promise an easy and peaceful triumph to the cause of the people. But it was only the enthusiasm of the moment. The next day, the old discussions were renewed, and the old jealousies revived ; and the torrent of revolution rolled on, as if nothing had obstructed its course.

It was, and for a long time had been, the secret wish of the court, and of the ultra royalist party, to induce the king to leave France. They hoped, by removing him from the immediate atmosphere of the revolution, not only to save him from that terrible fate which seemed to be in reserve for him in Paris, but to enable him, under the support and countenance of his allies, to act with more independence and efficiency in arresting the downward tendency of things. Many plans were devised to effect

his removal. Even when Louis seemed all complaisance to the people, and all pliancy to the will of their representatives, he was daily induced by his courtiers to favor the means to disappoint that will, and to escape from the too free and familiar surveillance of the nation. Suspicion was awake to these movements, and precautions were taken to counteract them. Lafayette, as commander-in-chief of the Parisian guards, was specially charged with the protection of the royal person, and with the prevention of his flight.

The departure of the king would have been the signal for a civil war, which was dreaded by all the parties to the revolution, and desired only by the aristocracy. In such an event, they hoped, by the aid of foreign arms, to subdue France again to an absolute despotism, and so to regain their lost honors and prerogatives. Lafayette, though sincerely attached to the king, and honestly desirous to preserve him to the nation, and with him all the powers and prerogatives of a constitutional monarch, was the object of so much suspicion and prejudice in the palace, that he would not obtrude himself there, except in cases of absolute necessity. He had too much confidence in the king's sincerity and honor, to suppose him capable of duplicity.

Meanwhile, his old friends and colleagues, one after another, deserted him. Mirabeau, who hated him for his irreproachable integrity and purity of character, had quite gone over to the aristocracy and the court, and took the lead in plots for the removal of the king. The Lameths, on the other hand, and others of the reformers, deeming Lafayette too much attached to the court, were constantly throwing difficulties in his way, and plotting to supplant him in office.

On the occasion of a slight popular outbreak, on the 28th of February, a new opportunity was afforded him

to "define his position," and he did define it in such a manner as ought for ever to have put to silence the malicious calumnies of his enemies. This disturbance was planned and fomented by the minions of the court, who flattered themselves that they should be able to throw Paris into confusion, by decoying the commander of the National Guards out of the city, and involving him in a contest with the people, where he would be sure to be overpowered, or assassinated. They hoped then to take advantage of the storm, and the absence of the pilot, to seize the helm, and reinstate themselves in their ancient position.

There was an old castle at Vincennes, a few miles from Paris, which had been one of the strongholds of tyranny, a sort of suburban Bastile. It was in bad odor with the people, and Lafayette had several times advised the king to order its demolition, as he could not brook the idea of its being done, under constitutional order, by a mob. Acting upon this hint, his aristocratic enemies had contrived to get up an excitement against the old tower, and to send off a horde of ruffians in that direction. Lafayette, hearing the uproar, and learning the cause, made instant arrangements, by a judicious disposition of his guards, to secure the tranquillity of the city, and hastened with his whole staff to Vincennes. The work of destruction had already begun. The insane fury of the populace was increasing with every blow that was struck. Dashing into the midst, and, by his commanding presence and well-known voice, instantly establishing order among the National Guards of the place, whom some factious persons from the city were endeavoring to mislead, he ordered the rioters to disperse, caused the ringleaders to be seized and sent to prison for trial, and, in a very few hours, restored order and the peaceful dominion of law.

It was not without great personal hazard, that Lafayette discharged this double duty of military commander, and chief of the police. Several shots were fired at him, and his officers, though without effect. On his return at night, as he was passing through the street St. Antoine, an attempt was made, by one of the hired ruffians in the crowd, to trip up his horse, which was frustrated by a resolute thrust of the bayonet from a grenadier of the National Guard. It was rumored that the general was killed; and great excitement prevailed in the city, till the report was authentically contradicted.

During the whole day, efforts had been made to disarm the National Guards on service at the Tuileries, by furnishing them freely with liquor, and urging them to frequent libations. A large number of royalists, many of whom had been invited from the country for the purpose, not by the king, nor even with his knowledge, but by the officers of his household, had collected in the palace, and taken possession of the apartments which separated the hall of the National Guards from the king's chambers. Some had entered openly, by the gate, and some by secret passages, which were sacred to the uses of the royal household. They were armed with small-swords, sabres, sword-canes, pistols, and daggers, which they had concealed about their persons, on their entrance. The king, when all were assembled, left his room for a conference with his visiters. What they proposed to do has never been fully disclosed. But it is evident some desperate deed was meditated. It might, perhaps, have been accomplished, had not the overheated zeal of the chevalier de Saint Elme, or, it may be, his over-draughts upon the royal wine-flagons, got the better of his prudence, and precipitated the crisis, before their plans were matured for action. Full of loyal valor, and ready to face, single-handed, the whole

National Guard, he threw open the door leading to their hall, and flourished a pistol before them. Great excitement ensued. The alarm was given. The guards rushed to their posts. The king was in the utmost consternation. Timid by nature, and exceedingly averse to the shedding of blood, he begged his brave cavaliers to disband at once, and keep their arms out of sight. It was well that they did not hesitate to obey, for the National Guards, who had just heard the rumor of the assassination of their chief, were about to burst into the apartment. They disposed of their weapons as well as they could, and escaped, with all haste, from the palace, not, however, without insults and even blows from the exasperated citizen-soldiers, whom they had so shamefully compromised, and so nearly betrayed.

While this scene was passing, Lafayette arrived from Vincennes. The National Guards received him with transports of joy—the courtiers with looks of chagrin and dismay. To some of them, but especially to the king's chamberlain, he spoke with great severity. He waited immediately upon the king, who, in expressing his regret for this untoward incident, which he had no agency in procuring, remarked, that “the false zeal, or extravagance, of the people who called themselves his friends, would ruin him”—a prediction but too signally verified.

On returning from the king to the hall, the general was informed that a considerable quantity of arms had been secreted in the closets. They were sent for, and brought out into the court. The daggers, of which there were many, were broken by the soldiers, in the presence of some of the chevaliers, who were still smarting under the failure of their scheme, and the indignities they had met with from the guards. The leaders of them were familiarly known, from that time, as “chevaliers du

poignard;" while the aristocratic sensibility of the officers of the household was painfully shocked, on the following morning, by the "order of the day," in which, beside being spoken of in terms of severe reproach, they found themselves designated as "chiefs of the domesticity."

Not long after, as the king was riding toward Saint Cloud, the populace, influenced by a rumor that he was about to flee from the country, arrested his progress by violently stopping the horses in the street. Lafayette hastened to the spot, and entreated the king to remain quietly in his carriage, assuring him that he would soon clear a passage, and leave him to pass unmolested. Louis refused to accept his interposition, and, alighting from his carriage, proceeded on foot.

The flight of the king, so long concerted, was now actually determined upon. The evening of the 21st of June was selected for his departure. Disguised, and in silence, the different members of the royal family left the palace, and proceeded on foot to a place of meeting, where a carriage was in waiting. The queen, accompanied by a single soldier, who was unacquainted with the streets, lost her way. Passing the carriage of Lafayette, attended by servants bearing torches, she was alarmed lest she should be discovered, and concealed herself under the wickets of the Louvre, till the carriage had passed.

The flight of the king was not known in the city till quite late the following morning. Then all Paris was in an uproar. Consternation was depicted in every countenance. The enemies of Lafayette, who could not comprehend his attachment to the king, charged him with being accessory to his departure. That charge was repeated, and maliciously magnified by his political enemies; and it is not the least of the many sins of the

court, on that occasion, that this cowardly desertion of his realm by the king, was understood by them to involve the life of one who had been faithful in every charge, and who had several times perilled his own to save the king's life. The rage of the people was extreme, and nothing but their long-tried and perfect confidence in Lafayette restrained them from venting it all upon his person. The cry of death was more than once raised against him. The storm was rapidly increasing in violence, when, with a calm countenance, and with a dignified self-composure, he presented himself among them, assembled in vast numbers before the Hotel de Ville. Fury was depicted in many faces, anxiety in all. He made no defence. He offered no explanation: He only replied to their looks of dismay, and their loud complaints and lamentations — "If you term this event a misfortune, what word would you apply to a counter-revolution, that should deprive you of liberty?" This simple question, diverting their thoughts from the present evil to a danger within and about themselves, and proving clearly that their general was true to them and their cause, restored their confidence, and equanimity, and called forth shouts of "Vive Lafayette!"

In the assembly, even they who had been opposed to Lafayette on party grounds, indignantly repelled the suspicions that had been thrown out against him, and called upon all to unite in sustaining him in this difficult and alarming crisis. This generous sentiment was responded to on all sides, with a truly French enthusiasm. A deputation was instantly selected from their own number, with directions to proceed to the Hotel de Ville, and invite him, through fear of the violence of the populace, to come under escort to the assembly. The deputation, on their arrival, found him as high in favor as ever. To their suggestion of an escort, he replied, "I

will order one for you, as a mark of respect; but, for myself, I shall return alone. I have never been in more perfect safety than at this moment, the streets being filled with the people."

Immediately on being apprized of the flight of the king, Lafayette had despatched two of his most trusty and efficient aids, to overtake, if possible, and bring him back. They were arrested by the mob, as they were passing out of the city, and hurried back to the assembly as enemies of the state. The assembly, receiving them with confidence, and heartily approving the plans of their general, sent them immediately off, with a suitable guard for their protection. The king was arrested at Varennes, before they came up with him. They accompanied him on his return to Paris, and were the means of saving the lives of some of his friends.

The part which Lafayette took in the measures adopted for the arrest of the king, tended greatly to increase the dislike of the queen, and consequently to widen the breach between him and the whole royal family. But it was by his interposition alone, that they were protected from violence on their return. When the escort entered the city, Lafayette hastened to meet it. During his absence, on this errand, an immense crowd had gathered about the Tuileries. No violence or insult was offered to the king, or to any one of the royal family. They were received in silence, without any of the customary royal honors, the flight having been regarded by the constitutionalists as an act of abdication. But the soldiers who aided their escape, and who now accompanied them on their return, seated on the box of the king's carriage, were made the especial objects of the people's fury. The queen, anxious for their safety and well aware of the influence of Lafayette with the people, no sooner saw him approach than she exclaimed, "General Lafayette, save

the life-guards." The general immediately took them by the hand, and led them to a place of safety within the palace. The royal family, having entered immediately after, Lafayette presented himself at the door of the king's apartment, saying respectfully, "Has your majesty any orders for me?" To which the king replied, with a smile, "It appears to me that I am more under your orders than you are under mine." Lafayette then respectfully announced to him the decree of the assembly, suspending him from his functions, as king, and placing a guard over his person. The king testified no displeasure, or excitement at this, but the queen was greatly agitated and vexed. Affecting to regard him as their jailer, she petulantly urged him to take the keys of the desks, which had been left in the carriage. The general replied that no person thought, or would think, of disturbing the privacy of those desks. The queen then placed the keys on his hat. Lafayette requested her to pardon the trouble he gave her of taking back those keys, declaring that he would not touch them. "Well," said the queen, impatiently, "I shall find persons less scrupulous than yourself." Though this was said tauntingly, and with bitterness, the queen was aware that it was no more complimentary than true.

France was now virtually a state without a king, for, in suspending Louis XVI. from the exercise of royal power, the assembly had made no provision for, or recognition of, a successor. Lafayette, as commander-in-chief of the National Guards of the metropolis, and possessing the entire confidence of the assembly and the people, was the most conspicuous and powerful man in France, exercising, in effect, without the title or prerogatives of viceroy, or regent, the chief executive functions. And nobly did he sustain the trying position, holding, by his energy, decision, and unwavering consistency, an

even balance between the enemies of popular liberty on the one hand, and the disturbers of public order on the other. His duty as special guardian of the king, he discharged with no less delicacy to the prisoners than fidelity to the state. Whenever a rigorous measure was susceptible of two interpretations, he always adopted the most humane one ; and even took upon himself the responsibility of modifying, in many particulars, the system of surveillance ordained by the assembly and its committees.

But France was not a republic, though the Jacobins made the most vigorous and determined efforts to make it so. It was a monarchy without a monarch, and measures were soon taken to restore the sovereignty. These measures were violently opposed by the radical party, and a great riot ensued in the Champ de Mars, where immense numbers had assembled, under the direction of Robespierre, Petion, and others, to protest against the king. He was restored, notwithstanding, and Lafayette was sent to quell the tumult. Hastening to the spot, he broke down the barricades, which they had already begun to throw up, and dashed into the midst of the insurgents, commanding them instantly to disperse. Too much excited to submit without an effort, they instantly turned upon their assailant, and threatened his life if he persisted in his attempt to disturb their proceedings. Never daunted, when duty was before him, he sternly reiterated his order to disperse. At that moment, one of the crowd, in a paroxysm of rage, raised a musket, and fired, the muzzle almost touching the general's head. By a singular interposition of Providence, he escaped this danger, and soon after succeeded in persuading the people to retire from the scene. The man who had attempted his life was arrested by the National Guards, but immediately set at liberty by Lafayette. He was severely censured by the ultra-popular party, for the part he took

in subduing this movement, and from that time had as many bitter enemies among the revolutionists, as he had hitherto had among the aristocracy ; although he was almost the only true friend of the people, who looked alone to the good of the whole nation, and who was ever ready, at any sacrifice to himself, to repair, as far as was possible, the inevitable evils of political revolution. This was manifest, and this was cordially acknowledged, when, a short time after, on the announcement by the king of his acceptance of the constitution, the man of the people came forward with a cup of Lethean water for past troubles, proposing a general amnesty for political offences. The proposition was adopted by acclamation, and the prison-doors were thrown open, amid the shouts of the people, and the songs of the liberated. The same decree abolished the use of passports, and allowed every citizen to go and come at his own pleasure.

Wherever the cause of liberty and the rights of man were brought in question, the name of Lafayette was a watchword, and his counsel and influence were eagerly sought. The leaders of the revolution in Belgium, and the promoters of an independent administration in Corsica, looked up to him as a guide and friend, and found in him a prudent and sagacious adviser. In the early part of their struggle, he proposed to enter the Batavian service. The ministry opposed his wish and prevented it. He was solicited to go to the aid of Ireland, and would have gone, but for the interference of the French government, and the concessions of England. At that time, he was free to act where the cause of liberty and humanity demanded his services ; but now, as a Frenchman, intrusted with the most important command in her national army, as well as with the lofty function of a legislator in her constitutional assembly, he could render no personal aid. He commended their cause to the favora-

ble regard of the assembly and the king, and encouraged them to proceed with moderation, and a constant reverence for law and order, but refused any movement in their behalf, which any other citizen might not with propriety have made. The establishment of the Batavian republic received his hearty approval, as a citizen, and his able counsel and generous zeal were duly appreciated and acknowledged by its founders. In reply to one of the letters from the president of "the sovereign congress," he said: "You have condescended, gentlemen, to correspond with me, though I have, in this respect, no other character than that of a friend of liberty. Permit me, then, in virtue of that title, in consideration of my concern for the union and prosperity of the Belgians, and for the cessation of intestine divisions, to include myself in the number of those who regard the liberation of General Vander Meersch,* as the first and indispensable means of accomplishing those wishes that ought to animate every patriotic breast."

On the dissolution of the constitutional assembly, and the seeming establishment of a constitutional government, Lafayette resigned his commission, as commandant of the National Guards, relinquishing at the same time all military rank and power, and retired to his quiet residence in the country. He had asked nothing for himself, and, when his great work of self-sacrificing patriotism was accomplished, he immediately sought the reward of his labors, and the peace he so ardently loved, in the bosom of his family. He carried with him to his retirement, the homage and regret of his companions in arms, the grateful regards of the people, and the respect, if not the entire confidence, of all parties. They who

* An officer in the Belgian service, imprisoned for political motives. Lafayette had no confidence in liberty which did not include freedom of thought and speech.

had most earnestly opposed him, could say nothing worse of him than Mirabeau and others of the same class had always felt, that he was too honest and too pure for the exigencies of the times. There was not a man in France, of any name or party, who concentrated in his own person so much of public confidence and private regard, as Lafayette.

His journey from Paris to Chavagniac was a continual succession of triumphs. The municipal council of Paris voted him an emblematic medal, and a marble statue of Washington, and ordered the decree conferring these marks of approbation, to be inscribed on the bust of Lafayette, which had been presented to the capital, twelve years before, by the state of Virginia. The National Guards of Paris at the same time voted him a sword, made from the bolts of the Bastile, and sent it by the hands of a committee, to his retreat. He was nominated and strongly supported, as a candidate for the mayoralty of Paris; but the influence and money of the court defeated him. With that obstinate blindness to his true interests, which was a sort of fatality with the king, he made great pecuniary sacrifices to prevent the election of Lafayette, his true, sincere, and steadfast friend, and thus secured the elevation of Petion, a cold, heartless, determined enemy, an ultra-Jacobin, the very man, who, on their return from their attempted flight, had cruelly and shamelessly insulted both the king and the queen in their own carriage, and who paved their way, with his then unprincipled and heartless associates, from the throne to the temple, and from the temple to the guillotine.

CHAPTER XVII.

THREATENED INVASION OF FRANCE — LAFAYETTE IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY.

LAFAYETTE did not long enjoy the luxury of home, nor the feeble hope which he might have been disposed to indulge, that the struggles of France were over, and her regeneration accomplished. Great numbers of the nobility, disgusted and alarmed by the progress of the revolution, had emigrated to various parts of Europe, but principally to the states adjoining their own country. Their property had been heavily taxed, as a penalty for their absence, and a decree had been passed, peremptorily requiring them to return. Many of them were now disposed to return, but not in the manner proposed by the assembly. They had made interest with some of the continental powers, with a view to entering France, at the head of a large army, and putting down the revolution at the point of the bayonet. Some considerable numbers of them were already in arms, in several places, and rumor followed rumor of extensive and alarming preparations for invasion.

Measures were instantly adopted to repel the anticipated movement. The king, with great apparent sincerity and earnestness, went hand in hand with the assembly in these measures, declaring any man an enemy of France, who should pass the frontier with hostile intent. An army was immediately raised, and Lafayette

was summoned from his retreat to command the centre, comprising fifty thousand men, with his headquarters at Metz. Associated with him were Rochambeau, commanding the army of the north, in Flanders, and Luckner, with the southern division, at Alsace. The appointment of Lafayette to this command was hailed with rapturous applause by the people; but when offered for confirmation, in council, the king objected. "If your majesty does not appoint him to-day," said the minister Narbonne, "the national wish will force you to do so to-morrow." All the ministers were of the same opinion, and the king yielded to their advice. Lafayette immediately obeyed the call of his country, and presented himself before the assembly, where he was received with the utmost cordiality. The president, on handing him his commission, said: "The French people, who have sworn to conquer or die for liberty, will ever present, with confidence, to nations and to tyrants, *the constitution and Lafayette.*" Crowds of enthusiastic citizens hailed him in all the streets. Battalions of the National Guard escorted him out of the city toward the scene of his new command, while the ceaseless *vivats* of the people, who followed him on his way, testified the respect and affection with which he was regarded.

Rochambeau and Luckner were officers of the old school, accustomed to the strictest system of military discipline, and to regarding an army as a mere assemblage of animated automata, subject to the sway of one despotic will. To them, the citizen-soldier, with his right of opinion, and his prerogative of private judgment, was not a fitting instrument of warfare. Lafayette, trained in the American school, and accustomed to that kind of discipline which is suited to freemen, was quite in his element. Young, active, and ambitious to distinguish himself in the defence of his country, he im-

mediately introduced and established the most efficient discipline among his troops ; overcoming, by his urbanity, decision, and ingenuousness, all the difficulties raised by the ill-will of his subordinates, who were chiefly from the aristocracy of the army. He also introduced two companies of mounted artillery, such as he had seen in Prussia, and other improvements to increase the efficiency of his division.

War was now the all-absorbing topic. Without breaking down the distinctions of party, or neutralizing the bitterness of private dissension, it turned all eyes in one direction, and united all heads and hearts in one common object. Whatever views the different factions might entertain in regard to the internal affairs of the nation, it was the dictate of universal patriotism to defend the country from foreign aggression. The ultra-Jacobins, with Robespierre at their head, were the least ardent of all the factions in support of the war. Their great fear was, that it would afford too many advantages for Lafayette to strengthen his position, and perhaps, ultimately, procure for him the supreme power, in the form of a military dictatorship. They had no confidence in the good intentions of the king, and supposed that, as soon as he could do it with safety to himself, he would declare against the revolution, and avail himself of foreign aid at hand to restore him to his ancient sovereignty. They were equally suspicious of Lafayette. Measuring him by their own standard of virtue, they never doubted that he would seek his own private interests, to the exclusion of all others ; and his moderation, prudence, and unsailable integrity, were an insuperable bar to the progress of their sweeping reforms.

This war, though commenced as one of defence only, soon assumed an offensive character. An attack on Belgium was contemplated, as the first great movement.

That country, then under the dominion of Austria, had recently manifested a revolutionary spirit, and it was supposed that the great body of the people would cordially welcome a French army, that would release them from the yoke of their old masters. The execution of this movement was intrusted to Lafayette. He was ordered, first, to advance with ten thousand men, from Givet to Namur, and from Namur to Liege, or Brussels. He was to be followed immediately by the whole division. While he was executing this movement, Lieutenant-General Biron was to set out from Valenciennes, with ten thousand men, and march upon Mons. Another division was to proceed to Tournay, with orders to secure possession of it immediately. These secondary movements were intended, principally, to support and mask the real one committed to Lafayette's charge.

The movements above described were ordered to be made during the last ten days of May. Biron soon made himself master of Quievrain, and, proceeding to Mons, found a few hostile detachments drawn up to oppose him. Suddenly, in the midst of their march, two regiments of dragoons, not then in the presence of the enemy, cried out, "We are betrayed!" and instantly betook themselves to flight. The whole army, as if struck with sudden panic, followed them, unmoved alike by the commands, entreaties, and threats, of their officers. The deserted camp, with all its paraphernalia and stores, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Another division, of three thousand men, who were to start from Lille, conducted in the same shameful and cowardly manner; the cavalry, as before, taking the lead, and compelling the infantry to accompany them. Theobald Dillon, their commander, and one of his officers, were murdered, while attempting to arrest their flight.

In the meantime, Lafayette, by forced and difficult marches over almost impassable roads, had proceeded as far as Givet—a distance of one hundred and seventy miles, which he achieved in the incredibly short space of five days—before he was apprized of these serious disasters. Justly deeming that there was concerted treason at the bottom of this twofold desertion, and impressed with the conviction that it originated with his personal enemies, he thought it prudent to halt for a time, and protect himself as well against “the enemy in his rear,” as against the one in advance.

It was manifest to all that there was treason in the camp; but none, save the few who plotted it, could divine its object, or tell whence it proceeded. The army was not to be relied upon. Lafayette felt perfect reliance upon his division, not only from what they had already done, but from their personal attachment to himself; but, unaided by the other divisions, it would have been worse than madness to think of advancing, in the face of all Europe.

Agitations the most violent and alarming, discussions the most bitter, ensued at Paris and throughout France. Party was armed against party, and faction against faction; each suspected, hated, and feared the other. All, or nearly all, suspected and hated, though few feared, the king. Poor, unfortunate man! On his devoted head were about to be poured all the vials of popular wrath and political madness. So long overshadowed by the dark and terrible incubus of the throne, the revolutionists had succeeded in overturning and demolishing it, leaving in its place the mere form and title of a king, whose crown was not his own, and whose seat was the common footstool of the sovereign people. The throne was only the shadow of what it once was; but yet the shadow was as much feared and hated, as the substance

had formerly been. The malignity of the factions was beginning to be directed from the king to the man—from Louis XVI. to Louis.

Through all his adversities, Lafayette had maintained toward the king, not only the allegiance of an upright, true-hearted subject, and an intelligent citizen, who regarded a king as the most proper executive for France, but the devotion of a sincere, self-sacrificing friend; and, though rejected and kept at arm's length, by the personal dislike of the queen, he still continued, through every change, to exert all his influence and power to save them. In the present exigency, when to come to the rescue of the throne was to rush at once upon the bayonets of the army, the sword of the assassin, and the mines of all the intriguing politicians of the nation, he stood forth boldly and openly, and advocated his cause. He did more. Alone and single-handed, he went into the midst of the people, and demanded justice for the king, and a guaranty for the integrity of the constitution.

His first act was, from his camp before a foreign enemy, to address a letter to the assembly. In this letter, he frankly and fearlessly expressed his sentiments relative to the king and the constitution, and his disapprobation of any measure which tended to attack or injure either of them. He declared that the public cause was in danger—that the fate of France depended on her representatives—that the nation looked up to them for deliverance, while, by giving a constitution, she had prescribed to them the means by which they were to secure her safety.

He then openly denounced the efforts of the Jacobins, whom he described as “domestic enemies, intoxicated with fanaticism or pride, and cherishing the most chimerical hopes.” He claimed the right thus to denounce them, as inherent and inalienable. “I will not be pre-

vented," said he, "from exercising this right of a free-man, and fulfilling this duty of a citizen, either by momentary errors of opinion—for what are opinions which depart from principles?—or by my respect for the representatives of the people, for I respect still more the people themselves, whose constitution is the supreme law—or by the regard which you have always shown me, for I wish to preserve that regard, as I obtained it, by an inflexible attachment to liberty."

He charged upon the Jacobin clubs all the disorders of the times. "Organized like a separate power, in its source and its ramifications, blindly directed by a few ambitious leaders, that faction forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose power it usurps by subduing its representatives and agents."

In terms equally bold and direct, he charged them with openly trampling on law, eulogizing and promoting every species of public crime, preaching insubordination to the army, and scattering, broadcast, the seeds of discontent and discouragement. He earnestly deprecated the growing influence and dictatorial power of such a faction over the National Assembly, who were responsible to the people, and not to a party; and conjured them, by their love of liberty and of France, to resume fearlessly, and maintain manfully, their constitutional functions. He contended that the power of the crown must remain inviolate and undiminished, for it was guarantied by the constitution; and independent, because that independence was one of the springs of liberty—that the king should be revered, because he was invested with the majesty of the nation; and he expressed the earnest hope that he would select a ministry which should not wear the chains of faction.

"Lastly, let the reign of the clubs give way to the reign of law; their usurpations to the firm and inde-

pendent exercise of the constituted authorities ; their disorganizing maxims to the principles of liberty ; their insensate fury to the calm and constant courage of a nation which knows its rights and defends them."

"This," says Thiers, "was saying to exasperated passions, 'Stop!'—to the parties themselves, 'Put an end to your own existence!'—to a torrent, 'Cease to flow!' But, though the advice was useless, it was not less a duty to give it." It was highly applauded by some ; by others, received in that sullen silence which indicates both fear and dislike.

An animated discussion ensued. Vergniaud objected, that the assembly could not receive the lecture of an armed general, without endangering that very liberty which Lafayette had hitherto so ably defended ; to which Thevenot replied, that the assembly ought to receive, from the lips of Lafayette, truths which it had not the courage to announce to itself. The power of the appeal, and the influence of the name under which it was presented, were so deeply felt, that there seemed to be no antidote to its effect, but to deny its authenticity. It was accordingly suggested that the letter was a forgery, and that the name of Lafayette was employed only to give weight to the sentiments of a royalist. "Impossible!" exclaimed M. Coubé. "Even if it were not signed, none but Lafayette could have written it." M. Guadet asserted that the letter could not have come from Lafayette, because it adverted to the dismissal of Dumouriez, though dated on the same day on which the dismissal took place. "Either the signature is not his," he said, "or it was attached to a blank, which was left for a faction to fill up at its pleasure."

A great uproar followed these words. "M. Lafayette is incapable," resumed Guadet, "according to his known sentiments, of having written such a letter. He must

know, that when Cromwell—" Dumas, unable to restrain his indignation at this allusion, endeavored to speak. There was great agitation in the assembly. Guadet, however, retained his ground, and attempted to speak. "I was saying—" but he was again interrupted. "You were at Cromwell," said one of the members. "I shall return to him," he replied. "I was saying, that Lafayette must know, that when Cromwell held a similar language, liberty was lost in England. It is expedient, either that we ascertain whether some coward has not sheltered himself beneath the name of Lafayette, or prove, by a signal example, to the French people, that we have not taken a vain oath in swearing to maintain the constitution."

Such was the power of Lafayette's name at this crisis—such the confidence of his friends, and the fear of his enemies. No one individual in France concentrated in his own person so many of the real elements of power, public confidence, and private regard, as he did; and it now became as necessary for the evil disposed to destroy him, as to get rid of the king. He was violently attacked in the clubs, in the newspapers, and in all the public meetings of the people, till the masses, who were led by the noisy harangues of unprincipled men, came to believe that he, in whom they had so long confided, was indeed a traitor to his country, and a friend of despotism. The excitement became deeper and more intense than it had ever been. France was the crater of an overheated volcano, on the eve of an eruption. Lafayette, without having changed his position in the least, was now regarded as belonging to the court and the aristocrats, and denounced as a traitor. His supposed defection increased the fear and hatred of those who would demolish the throne; so that his able and honest effort to sustain the king, only increased the diffi-

culties that surrounded him. So great was the excitement, that a mob of the most violent and degraded of the people, breaking over all the bounds of law and decency, burst into the palace, offered the grossest insults to the royal family, and threatened personal violence to the king.

Nothing daunted by the danger which threatened him in this new crisis, Lafayette resolved to go in person to Paris, to repeat and confirm the sentiments of his letter of the 16th of June, and to do all in his power to recall the nation to the path of liberty and glory, on which it had first set out. He counted on the fidelity of the National Guard, and hoped to impart to it a new impulse of patriotic devotion. He counted on the support of the court, which he could not believe to be his enemy, when he came to sacrifice himself in its defence. Having proved his chivalrous love of liberty, he was now resolved to prove his sincere attachment to the king; and, in his heroic enthusiasm, it is probable that his heart was not insensible to the glory of this twofold self-devotion. He arrived on the morning of the 28th of June, twelve days after the date of his letter to the assembly. The news of his arrival soon spread, and it was everywhere repeated with surprise and curiosity, that General Lafayette was in Paris.

On that day, the hall of the assembly was thronged with multitudes of people, in anxious expectation to learn the object of the general's visit. A little past noon, having requested admission to the bar of the house, he made his appearance, and was received with applause by one side, and with silence by the other. With that calmness and dignity which always characterized his manner, he rose and addressed the assembly; first assuring them that, before leaving the army, he had made all needful arrangements for its protection and

order during his absence, and then explaining, in a few words, his motives in coming.

When he concluded, he was invited to take his seat with the assembly. Objections being made, accompanied by confused cries of "Yes" and "No," from different parts of the house, the general modestly took his seat on a bench allotted to petitioners. Guadet then rose, and, with bitter irony, inquired if the enemies of France were vanquished, and the country delivered from the threatened invasion. "No!" he exclaimed in reply; "the country is not delivered; our situation is not changed; and yet the general of one of our armies is in Paris." He then proceeded severely to censure Lafayette, and to propose an inquiry into his right to leave the army, without a special order from the minister of war, or to address the assembly on purely political subjects.

From the charges insinuated in this proposition, the general was ably and eloquently vindicated by M. Ramond. "When, but a few days ago," said he, "an armed multitude presented itself in this hall, it was not asked what was its errand; it was not reproached with infringing, by the parade of arms, the independence of the assembly. But when M. de Lafayette, who is for America and for Europe the standard of liberty—when he presents himself, suspicions are awakened! If there are two weights and two measures—if there are two ways of considering things, let it be allowable to make some distinction in favor of *the eldest son of liberty!*" He then proposed to refer the matter to a special committee, to examine, not the conduct of Lafayette, which was above suspicion, but the petition he had presented. This motion was carried; and Lafayette left the hall, amid the congratulations of the friends of order, and followed by a large train of National Guards, who could not repress, even in the presence of the national legisla-

ture, their sentiments of respect and affection for their old commander.

From the assembly Lafayette proceeded to the palace, to pay his respects to the king, and to renew the offer of his services. It was the capital crisis in the affairs of Louis XVI., the last turning point in his destiny. If he had, even at that late hour, received Lafayette into his confidence, and intrusted to him and his friends the general guidance of his affairs, the tide of Jacobin anarchy which was about to sweep away the throne and desolate France, might have been turned back, and the constitutional monarchy established on a permanent basis. But the prejudices of the queen were not yet overcome. Lafayette was received with open abuse by the courtiers, and with repulsive coldness by the king. The royal family were together. The king and queen both repeated that there was no safety but in the constitution, and that it must be supported at all hazards. And yet they rejected with severity the only man who had been always and consistently devoted to it and to them, and who, at that very moment, was hazarding, not his popularity only, but his life, in their defence. It had been appointed that the king should review four thousand men of the National Guards, on the morning of the next day. Lafayette asked permission to accompany him, at the same time declaring his intention to address the troops, as soon as his majesty should have retired. And he hoped to make it the occasion of renewing their devotion to the constitution and the king. This proposal was not directly negatived, but its purpose was thwarted through a blind fear that Lafayette would gain some advantage to himself, by an order from Petion, the mayor, countermanding the review, at a very early hour in the morning.

On leaving the Tuileries, a numerous concourse of people escorted him to his residence, shouting, "Long

live Lafayette!" In their enthusiasm they even planted a liberty-pole at his gate.

These demonstrations of popular attachment, contrasting strongly with the jealousy of the court, and the virulent hatred of the Jacobins, deeply affected the general, and inspired him with some hope that all was not yet lost. It created, moreover, a new alarm among the factions.

Always open and frank, and preferring the boldest courses to any species of intrigue, Lafayette proposed to his friends, that the clubs, the strongholds of the anarchists, and the very caldrons of political agitation and corruption, should be violently broken up and dispersed. He appointed a meeting for this purpose. But few had the courage to attend, and the project was necessarily abandoned. The Jacobins, however, knowing his resolution and zeal, and fearing he might be supported by numbers too great for them to oppose, were seized with panic, and abandoned their clubs for the time.

Amid denunciations, threats, and hints of assassination, Lafayette remained another day in Paris, making fearless but fruitless endeavors to accomplish the object he had so much at heart. Then, finding all his zeal and self-devotion unavailing, and lamenting the fatal obstinacy of the king, who would not suffer himself to be saved, he reluctantly returned to his camp, to await the fearful issue. He even then entertained dark forebodings of the future, though he could not have imagined the utter blackness of darkness which that future ultimately revealed. He had freely exposed himself and his fortune to save the state, and was ready, as freely, to consummate the oblation, to attain the end. He had braved, openly and boldly, the fury of his enemies, to rescue the king from their grasp. But his offering was not accepted. He was basely calumniated by the court,

and even accused of having betrayed the king. His want of success, which was owing only to the absence of co-operation on the part of the court, was made an argument against him. Under these painful and inauspicious circumstances, he left the metropolis for the army, doubtful in what manner he should return, and destined to an absence of many long unhappy years.

But the temperament of Lafayette, as that of a generous and unsuspecting nature always is, was ever hopeful. He never abandoned a good purpose, so long as there was even a slight chance of accomplishing it. Though in a manner driven from the palace, and refused the hospitality of the city, he still cherished the design of rescuing the king from the hands of those who sought his blood, as the only means of extinguishing his title and power. Almost any other man would have abandoned the obstinate court to its fate. But Lafayette's patriotism was proof against coldness, distrust, and calumny, on the one hand, as well as against the specious arguments of the designing and crafty, on the other. He consulted only his own honest and true heart, resolved that the king should be saved in spite of himself, and immediately formed a plan for getting him away from Paris, where he was only a state-prisoner, without the ordinary guaranty of safety to his person, and with little prospect of any other release than that of death.

Meanwhile, the danger of invasion grew daily more and more imminent; and daily, as the allies were supposed to be approaching, suspicions of the king increased. In the assembly he was openly charged with inviting invasion, and a decree of dethronement was boldly proposed and discussed.

The plan of removing the king from Paris was one of infinite difficulty and danger. Lafayette caused it to be communicated to the king by Lally Tolendal, who

freely pledged himself for the sincerity and fidelity of the general. He had gained over General Luckner, who commanded one division of the army, and who promised all that was desired. It was proposed that the king should summon the two generals to Paris, to take part in the great festival of the Federation, on the 14th of July. On the 15th, the king, accompanied by Lafayette, was to have gone to the assembly, and announced his intention of spending some days at Compègné. On his arrival there, with a small escort of Parisian National Guards, he was to be furnished with a trusty body-guard, composed of a detachment of the Compègné militia, and two regiments of chasseurs from Lafayette's division, associated with the escort from Paris—the whole to be commanded by Brigadier-General Latour Maubourg. Thus surrounded, and sheltered from all violence, in a situation of his own choice, the king would, of his own accord, have issued his proclamation, forbidding his brothers to advance a step, declaring any who should invade the French territory enemies and traitors, and announcing his intention, if the assembly approved, to go in person against them. He would, at the same time, have pronounced in favor of the constitution, in such terms as should leave his enemies no room to doubt his sincerity.

Such was the plan of Lafayette, and such a step, fully carried out, would probably have enabled Louis to return to Paris, amid the universal acclamations of the people, with power to consolidate the constitutional monarchy. But such a triumph would have been the triumph of liberty, and therefore the court declined it. They were not willing to accept deliverance from Lafayette. "It would be too bad," said the queen to Madam Elizabeth, the king's sister, "that we should be twice indebted to him for our lives."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

SOME of the king's personal friends left no means untried, to inspire him with confidence in Lafayette. They conjured him to comply with the counsels of the only man who could snatch him from destruction. But those of them who, unfortunately, had most influence in the palace, saw no chance for absolute royalty, save in anarchy and foreign invasion. Lafayette was requited with cold and formal thanks for his plan, which was rejected as impracticable; and when his aide, Colombe, afterward asked the queen by what strange infatuation she and the king had come to so fatal a decision, she replied, "We are very grateful to your general; but the best thing that could happen to us would be, to be confined for two months in a tower!" At the same moment when these heartless thanks were offered, and while Lafayette was projecting the only feasible plan for saving the royal family from immolation, it was known to him that memorials, full of the bitterest personal abuse, were, by the queen's orders, composed against him, and that a portion of the libels, daily devoted to his defamation, were paid for out of the civil list.

In unfolding his plan to Lally-Tolendal, Lafayette remarked, in reference to the gathering storm, "I see a series of dangers commencing immediately after the 14th. I again repeat it: the king must leave Paris! I know

that, were he not sincere, this course would be attended with inconveniences ; but when the question is about trusting the king, who is an honest man, can one hesitate a moment ? . . . I consider it a sacred duty to be near the king on this occasion. . . . I find myself surrounded by inhabitants of the country, who come ten leagues and more to see me, and to swear that they have confidence in none but me, and that my enemies are theirs. I find myself beloved by the army, on which the Jacobin efforts have no influence. I see testimonies of adherence to my opinions arriving from all parts of the kingdom ; and I can not believe that all is lost, and that I have no means of being serviceable."

When, in composing his singular and most unworthy reply to this generous proposal, the king declared that "he was infinitely sensible to the attachment which would induce him [Lafayette] to put himself thus in the front," he uttered the true sentiments of his own good heart, which, had he trusted and followed them, would have saved him, and his house, and France. But when, in concluding his letter, he said, "The best advice which can be given to M. Lafayette is, to continue to serve as a bugbear to the factions, by the able performance of his duty as a general," he only made himself the organ of all the littleness of an intriguing court and an imperious queen, whose influence ultimately prevailed to divert the king from the course which his own heart and conscience would have suggested. The proverbial irresolution and fickleness of Louis XVI. was not so much owing to a native imbecility of character, as to that amiable weakness which yielded an undue ascendancy to an ambitious wife, whom he ardently loved and perfectly trusted.

Foiled in this patriotic and loyal purpose, Lafayette conceived the yet bolder design of marching his army

to Paris, putting down, at the point of the bayonet, the factions which were distracting the counsels of the nation, and establishing, by force, the constitution of the people. He well knew that a large majority of the nation had decided in its favor, that the king was truly pledged to it, and that only a comparatively small number of discontented anarchists, in Paris, opposed it. These he proposed to silence and crush, that the will of the people might be paramount, and the salvation of the country rendered certain.

But the terrible crisis could not be averted. The offers and plans of Lafayette, for the escape of Louis, and for overawing the capital, became known to the Jacobins, who immediately denounced him in the assembly, and raised such a storm of popular fury against him, in the metropolis, that he was not only openly and loudly anathematized in the streets, but absolutely burnt in effigy in the gardens of the Tuileries. The attempt to procure a decree of condemnation in the assembly failed by a large majority; but this only turned the tide of popular indignation against the assembly. All was uproar, consternation, and violence. The day of doom had arrived. Paris was probed to the core, and all the foul corruption, that had so long been festering there, oozed out upon the surface, and spread itself over the body politic. The cry, "To arms!" was heard on every side. The legislature and the law were set at open defiance. The palace was sacked by an infuriated mob; the royal family were driven to take refuge in the hall of the assembly, and afterward shut up in a gloomy prison, to await a cruel death. The Swiss guards were massacred, and Paris made an Aceldama—a field of blood. All this was done in less than a month after the disinterested and generous offer of Lafayette, to shelter the king from the impending storm, had been

rejected. The reign of terror had commenced. Its birthday was the 10th of August, 1792.

Wishing, amid the new dangers that now encompassed the dethroned and imprisoned king, to be nearer Paris, that he might more readily render any assistance which might be demanded, Lafayette was desirous of transferring his command to the north. Unwilling, however, to quit his own troops, by whom he was greatly beloved, and in whom he had entire confidence, he proposed to General Luckner to change positions. This was agreed to; and Luckner, with his division, took post at Metz, while Lafayette repaired to Sedan. This brought him within two days' journey of the capital.

The revolution was the work of the people of France. It was the necessary result of the progress of thought in an oppressed and burdened people. The reign of terror could never have been conceived, or begotten, anywhere but in Paris; but it soon swept over the whole country. It overawed or pervaded the assembly, which was compelled to acknowledge, while it lasted, the supremacy of such moral monsters as Petion, Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. But, even these were not able to procure a decree for the impeachment of Lafayette, though it was one of the first objects they sought to accomplish.

An admirable comment on the principles and objects of the party which denounced him, was afforded in the fact that Brissot, who was the speaker on that occasion, declared that it was a mere party affair, and that "the man whom he denounced was the one whom, of all the world, he most highly esteemed." Their sense of his importance and influence was also exhibited in a perfectly gratuitous announcement, in one of their journals, that he approved of the events of the 10th of August, and had caused them to be recognised by the army under his command.

The king having been dethroned, and a new constitutional substitute provided, commissioners were immediately sent to the several divisions of the army, to communicate the decrees of the assembly, and to exact from the generals and their troops the new oath of allegiance. Lafayette, having notice of their approach, directed them to be arrested by the municipality of Sedan. They were closely questioned by the mayor respecting the recent scenes of violence in the capital, and the sudden change of views and plans in the assembly. Deciding, from the account they gave, that the legislative assembly had been overawed by a lawless mob, that it was not free when it decreed the suspension of the royal authority, and that its commissioners were consequently only the envoys of a factious cabal, he ordered them to be arrested and confined, in the name of the constitution, as persons treasonably designing to tamper with the loyalty of the army and the allegiance of the people. This was all done in pursuance of the instructions of Lafayette; and he, always ready to stand in the forefront of danger, assumed the sole responsibility, as military commander of the city.

The commissioners, after their arrest, solicited a conference with the general, and proposed to him, in pursuance of instructions from their unprincipled superiors at Paris, to identify himself with the new order of things in the nation, by accepting the chief executive department of the government. They urged it upon him, as the first wish of the leaders, and certain to be acceptable to all parties and to the people, declaring that it only waited his decision, to be proclaimed to the nation and the world. The offer was rejected with indignation, as similar ones had been several times before. The sole ambition of Lafayette was, that his country should be free and just, and he was resolved to be so himself, at all

hazards and at all sacrifices. He immediately caused his army to renew their oath of fidelity to the king and the law, and ordered the same to be done by all the troops under his command. Expecting large support from the interior and remote departments, from many of which he had received the most ardent assurances of personal confidence, and of entire devotion to the principles of his celebrated letter to the assembly of the 16th of June, he purposed to attempt a decisive movement, to restore the constitution, and reinstate the assembly and the king in their legitimate authority. General Arthur Dillon, who was at Valenciennes, under the orders of Lafayette, obeyed his general-in-chief, caused the oath of fidelity to the law and to the king to be taken by the soldiers under his command, and used his influence to have it done by the entire army.

Luckner, at Metz, was surrounded by influences less favorable to loyalty. He wrote to Lafayette, conjuring him to guard well the commissioners, "whom he should not know what to do with, if they should find their way to his camp." His real sentiments coincided, in all respects, with those of Lafayette, as will be seen by his brief, soldier-like, but somewhat ludicrous address to his army on that occasion. It was written down on the spot by Romeuf, Lafayette's Aid, and is thus Anglicised by the hand of the general himself:—

"Officers, unter-officers, soldiers : A ferry creat accident has just happent in Paris. Te enemy who are before us, I mock at tem ; but te enemy who are pehint us, I mock at tem not.* If money be give you, take eat ; I mock at tat. Do not abanton me. I will nefer abanton you.

"Officers, unter-officers, soldiers : Cheneral Fayette

* The hero of Lundy's Lane had precedent for the only fear he was ever known to manifest.

has put unter arrest two commissioners, who come to put tisorder in his army. We shall soon have te same fisit. We will receif tem te same. Here is te aide-de-camp of Fayette, who bring me tis news, and who will tell Fayette te good tispositions of the soldiers of te army of old Luckner."

When it was announced in Paris, that Lafayette had arrested the commissioners, and denied the authority of the assembly, it caused great excitement and alarm. It was the absorbing topic of the day. His immediate impeachment was vehemently demanded, and the assembly was severely reproached for not having ordered it before. A decree was instantly passed against the department of Ardennes, but not against Lafayette. New commissioners were despatched to the army, with the same powers as their predecessors, who were ordered to be immediately liberated. Other commissioners were sent to Count Dillon's division for the same purpose. But this would not satisfy the factions. While Lafayette retained his post, they well knew he could neither be intimidated by decrees, nor driven by threats, to turn aside from the straight path of rectitude and loyalty. It was necessary to remove him from his command, in order to manage and control him. They accordingly pursued their object, until, on the 19th of August, they procured a decree of the assembly, declaring him a traitor to his country.

His position was indeed anomalous and alarming. It was alarming to himself, as he was ignorant of the plans of his enemies, and the extent of their intrigues against him. It was most alarming to the political demagogues of the metropolis, whose factious violence had driven him to assume it, as they well knew his fearless independence, his unassailable integrity, and his popularity with the army and the country. Divided, as she then was, between the anarchists, who had now obtained as-

cendency in the assembly, and temporary control of what remained of the government, and the constitutionalists, who composed and commanded the army, France was imminently exposed to invasion from without, and political revulsion within. If the army remained true to its oath, it could annihilate the factions at a blow, and restore to the assembly that freedom of deliberation and action which it originally possessed, and without which it was merely the organ of every new despotism that aspired to control it. If, with Lafayette at its head, it should march to Paris, and replace the king on his throne, what but ostracism or death would remain for the Jacobins? With fearful apprehension, they waited the turn of the crisis.

With no fear for himself, but with anxious solicitude for his country, Lafayette found himself surrounded with difficulties which he knew not how to surmount. To his view, the constitution was virtually abolished, and all the worst predictions of the court and the aristocracy realized. With that which was now transpiring he had all along been taunted by the queen and by his brother lordlings, who lamented the loss of their titles and power, and longed for the restitution of the old despotism, that they might bask in its patronage. And not only so, but his hopes for the regeneration of France were based, not on destroying, but on reforming the government—not on taking down and removing the old fabric, but on accommodating it to the wants of an intelligent people. He foresaw clearly the consequences of the radical opinions and counsels then prevailing, and knew, from the genius of the French, which no man understood better than he, that they would overleap all bounds of safety, and react with terrible energy upon his ill-fated country. There was, apparently, but one way to prevent this catastrophe, and secure for France those free institutions

which should establish and perpetuate the liberty and happiness of the people. It was one which a Cæsar or a Napoleon might adopt, and, in pursuing it, involve the nation in civil war, and rear up for himself an imperial throne. But this was not the course for Lafayette. He sought nothing for himself; he desired only the happiness and glory of France. With such aims and such reflections, and with all the horrors of a civil war before him, he could not but hesitate; he could not but waver in his course. This hesitation, this wavering, was instantly seen and felt by the army under his command. His orders, imperatively and undoubtingly given, they would instantly have obeyed to a man. Him, in a cause where his heart and his conscience led him, they would have followed to the death. But when, instead of commanding, he consulted — when, with the frankness and fearlessness which always characterize an honest purpose, he caused the whole matter to be laid before his army, and even allowed the commissioners from the assembly to proclaim their own messages, it is not to be wondered at that the army hesitated and wavered too, and finally decided to obey the orders of the assembly.

And what, now, shall their general do! Proscribed by the dominant party, and no less hated than feared by all the Jacobins, to whose mad control the country now seemed disposed to submit, he could not return to Paris, with any hope of being useful there. He could not remain with the army, for he could not submit to the orders of the men who had deposed the king to whom he had sworn fidelity, and trampled on the constitution, which, also, he had sworn to honor and defend.

There was no alternative but exile. In the midst of his soldiers, he would have been safe from personal violence, for they would sooner have defied the assembly

and raised the standard of rebellion, than have seen their beloved general treated as a malefactor. It was this peculiar condition of affairs that made a secret flight necessary. The avowal of his purpose, and the acknowledgment that his life was in danger, would have created disaffection, and perhaps revolt, in the army. He therefore resolved to go alone, or attended only by those of his officers whose political opinions and importance exposed them to the same danger as himself. He would not draw away from France one of her defenders, nor suffer any to accompany him, but such as were proscribed with him, and therefore could only remain as victims to the vengeance of the Jacobins. Accompanied by these, and a small company of horse, as an escort, he left his camp on the 20th of August, and took the road to the Netherlands, where he expected to be received as a prisoner-of-war, or to obtain a free pass for himself and friends to America. Before taking his departure, he had taken care to see that everything was in perfect order in the camp, and made all the dispositions necessary to repel a sudden attack, which he very naturally supposed the enemy would attempt, with a view to profit by the confusion and alarm created by the discovery of his absence. Having passed the line where pursuit, or any other danger from the rear, might be apprehended, the escort was dismissed, with orders to return to the army; and the little band of exiles, fifteen in number, proceeded on their doubtful way, flying from unnatural enemies at home, to seek a temporary refuge among natural enemies in foreign lands.

How strange the position! How wayward the caprices of fortune! The man who, a few days ago, was the acknowledged favorite of the nation—who had unbounded popularity with the people, and the entire confidence and affection of the army—who was more be-

loved by the virtuous, and more feared by the vicious, than any other man in France, is now a proscribed, self-expatriated wanderer, seeking, among the invading foes whom he was sent to repel, the protection which is denied him in his own country. And all this, not for any change in him—not for any deviation from that lofty course of patriotic devotion which had secured for him the confidence and love of the nation—not for any act or suspicion of treachery to the principles he had always advocated, and had been specially commissioned to defend—no! but simply and only because he would not change—because, while the factious leaders of the people had openly and flagrantly abandoned all their promises and oaths, he alone remained true to his, and preferred exile, proscription, and death, to the least departure from the straight line of his duty.

Alexandre Lameth, Victor Latour Maubourg, and his brother Louis, Bureau de Puzy, the gentlemen of Lafayette's staff, and some of the staff-officers of the Parisian National Guard, who were implicated in the recent opposition to the mandates of the assembly, with Felix Pontonnier, secretary to Lafayette, and Jules Gruyeon, servant to Maubourg, made up the little band that accompanied the general in his flight.

CHAPTER XIX.

CAPTIVITY — MAGDEBOURG — OLMUTZ.

ON arriving at Rochefort, which was one of the advanced posts of the Austrian army, it became necessary to send to Namur, to procure the necessary passports from Général Moitelle, who commanded at that station. Bureau de Puzy undertook this errand. On announcing his name and his business, he was met with a rebuff as shameful as it must have been startling. "What!" exclaimed the agitated Austrian, "Lafayette! General Lafayette! Is he here? Run instantly" (addressing one of his officers), "and inform the duke of Bourbon. Lafayette? — set out this moment" (addressing another officer), "and carry this news to his royal highness at Brussels." And thus he ran on, for some minutes, half-soliloquy and half-pantomime, ever and anon muttering the name of Lafayette, as if there were a spell in the very word sufficient to move his entire army. Meanwhile, De Puzy stood before him, unable to put in a word of explanation or remonstrance, till orders had been given to write to half the princes and generals in Europe, conveying the thrilling intelligence that Lafayette was a prisoner in the camp of the allied armies. When, at length, the general recovered sufficient composure to attend to the business immediately before him, he peremptorily refused a passport, and ordered the whole company into close custody.

In vain did Lafayette, on his arrival at headquarters,

demand for himself and his friends the treatment to which, under the laws of nations and of war, they were fully entitled. He was too important a personage, and his influence was too well known, and too widely felt, to allow his going at large on parole. Even at the expense of the highest principles of justice and humanity, in defiance alike of civil and martial law, of personal honor and military precedent, the champion of liberty was confined as a public malefactor, and treated with all the indignity and severity of a convicted felon. No circumstances could more powerfully demonstrate the exalted position of Lafayette at that period, than the violent procedure of General Moitelle, and the subsequent conduct of the monarchs whom he represented. If the best hopes of liberty had not been centred in him, he could not have been so much the terror of tyrants, as to induce them, in their treatment of his person, to forego alike their self-respect, and the respect of all the world. In throwing Lafayette into a dungeon, and shutting him up from intercourse with France, they supposed they were crushing at once the head and the heart of the rebellion and laying anew the foundations of their tottering thrones.

Before proceeding to extremities with the captive general, it was attempted to seduce him from his allegiance to the principles of the constitution. He was required to repudiate the opinions for which he had so long and so bravely contended. This, of course, he indignantly refused to do. He was then offered his freedom, and the passports he had demanded, on condition that he would publicly recant his opinions respecting the abolition of titles of nobility. The offer was rejected with the scorn it merited; and when, in the course of the same evening, it was proposed by the marquis of Chasteler, in drawing up a statement of Lafayette's declaration, to soften down his views on this subject, in

order to favor his liberation, he peremptorily objected to the statement, as untrue, and declared that, if any such means were employed to misrepresent his language, he would go before a notary, and make a public protest against the whole proceeding.

The arrest was made at Liege, which, being neutral ground, entitled the whole party to the protection of passports. From this place, the captives were conveyed to Namur, thence to Nivelles, and finally to Luxembourg, in each of which places some new indignity awaited them. At Namur, Lafayette was informed that Prince Charles was instructed to converse with him upon the affairs of France, and that he was expected to communicate such details of its military condition and means of defence, as would be useful to the allies, in prosecuting their plans of invasion. He was even given to understand that his personal liberty and privileges would depend upon the freedom and value of his disclosures. To this he indignantly replied, that "if such a commission had been given, he did not believe there was a man among them who would dare to execute it upon him." As he said this, the prince came in. The courtly affability of his address, and the real respect he entertained for his guest, could not prevent his visit from being cold, constrained, and formal. There was little freedom or ease, even while the conversation turned upon general topics. But when, for a design which was perfectly understood, it was proposed that the companions of Lafayette should withdraw, for a few moments, the whole party remained still and silent. Not a word was uttered. The proposal was met with the proud and speechless contempt it deserved. The rebuke was severely felt by the prince and his attendant. The task they had undertaken was too much for them, and they soon retired, mortified and disgusted with a commission

as painful and degrading to themselves as it was dishonorable to those who devised and required it.

At Nivelles, a commissioner was announced from the duke of Saxe Teschen, commandant of the Austrian force at Brussels, authorized and prepared, with due form and solemnity, to secure the treasure, which it was supposed Lafayette had brought with him, with a view, as they professed, to account for it to the king of France. The announcement of this commission was received with a smile of incredulity, as an undignified joke. But, when it was repeated, with a tone of authority, as a serious demand, and fortified by the display of the commission, with the signature and seal of the noble duke, Lafayette, though vexed and chagrined, could not restrain his laughter. "I am to infer, then," he replied, with cutting emphasis, "that if the duke of Saxe Teschen had been in my place, he would have stolen the military chest of the army. The generals of the king of France were taught in a different school of morals." The truth was, Lafayette, and his friends, on leaving the army, took with them only money enough to defray their expenses to a place of refuge. With an exalted unselfishness, and patriotic devotion, he stole away in secret, lest numbers should follow him, and left everything in camp so perfectly disposed for defence, that the enemy, after a searching reconnoitre at every assailable point, deemed it imprudent to make an attack. He made better provision for the safety of the army than for his own. The Austrian major, to whom this *delicate* commission was intrusted, was struck with equal admiration and surprise, on finding, after a diligent search of their persons and portmanteaus, that they had among them only about two months' pay apiece.

At Luxembourg, an attempt was made to assassinate Lafayette, not by the tools or emissaries of the tyrants

who had assumed the infamous distinction of becoming his jailers, but by his own countrymen, those aristocratic emigrants who had fled from their homes, where they were no longer regarded as born to dignity and power, and were now engaged in a patricidal war, not to benefit France or her ill-fated king, but to recover their own titles and dignities. Thus proscribed and cast off by the Jacobins, for his fidelity to the king, and equally proscribed and condemned by the aristocracy, for his fidelity to the constitution and the people, there seemed to be no refuge for him on any side. Hated by the nobles for his love of liberty, and by the radicals for his love of order, he fled from the prisons and guillotines of the one, at home, only to encounter the daggers and dungeons of the other, abroad.

It was a source of the greatest grief to the generous heart of Lafayette, that the companions of his flight were subjected to restraint and insult on his account. Had he not been among them, they would probably have been allowed to pass unmolested. Auguste Masson, René Pillet, and Cardignan, who held only a military rank, were sent to Antwerp, on parole, and were, soon after, exchanged or liberated; but Maubourg, De Puzy, and Lameth, as members of the National Assembly, were honored with the distinction of a dungeon, as men whose very existence was a terror to despotism.

From Luxembourg, the captives were removed, by water, to Wessel on the Rhine, for more secure imprisonment within the domains of Prussia. During their journey, and on their arrival at Wessel, the populace were permitted to assail them with the coarsest and most abusive language. They were put in irons, and confined in separate cells, in the castle. Their only attendants were inferior, non-commissioned officers, who were strictly ordered never to suffer them to be a moment

out of sight, and not to hold any kind of conversation with them, nor even to answer their most unimportant questions.

The cold and damp of his cell, and the rigor of his confinement, were too much for the constitution of Lafayette. He was soon reduced to such a state of debility as to leave but slight hopes of his recovery. In this condition, his fellow-prisoners were not permitted to be near him, or to hold any kind of intercourse with him, nor was he suffered to know anything of them or of his family. It was insolently proposed to him, however, by the emissaries of the king of Prussia, that he should have better accommodations, and more liberty, if he would furnish plans for military operations against France. The base proposal was rejected with indignation. He would not purchase liberty, or life, at the desperate price of treachery. The terms of his refusal were so bold and decided, as to give new offence to his oppressors, who retaliated, with a petty malignity peculiar to little minds in great places, by diminishing still further his personal comforts, and increasing the severity of his confinement. Wessel, wretchedly dark and gloomy as it was, had no cell severe enough to satisfy the revenge of the disappointed monarch. He therefore caused his prisoner to be transferred to Magdebourg, where were dungeons better befitting his purpose. The journey was performed, as before, in a common cart, such as is used for the worst malefactors, and under a close military guard. It was, however, to the prisoners, a great relief from the monotony and solitude of their captivity, to be permitted to see and converse with each other on the way, and to receive, as they did, marks of sympathy and respect from the people, as they passed along. At Ham, they met with Damas, one of the Girondists of France, and from him received the most painful and alarming accounts of the

progress of the reign of terror, and of the scenes of cruelty and carnage which were enacting in France, under the name of liberty.

The dungeon into which Lafayette was thrown, was dark, damp, and narrow, and utterly destitute of any means of comfort for day or night. The prison was surrounded by a high wall of palisades, secured by massive gates, and all the varieties of bolt, bar, lock, and chain, which the ingenuity of man had then invented. His companions were also removed to the same place, with no mitigation of their sufferings, except that derived from occasional intercourse with each other.

In the fortress of Magdebourg the celebrated Baron Trenck passed more than nine years of his memorable captivity, after having escaped from the prison at Glatz. The romantic memoirs of that unfortunate knight furnish a graphic description of the details of life in prison. If any one is curious to know more of the horrors of solitary confinement, and the privations of a Prussian imprisonment, he can be gratified there, even to a surfeit.

By a refinement of cruelty, the prisoners were not permitted to know anything of their families, concerning whose fate they experienced the deepest solicitude, in consequence of the sweeping proscriptions and severe measures of the dominant faction at home, of which they had just been informed by Damas. In order the more effectually to prevent any information from reaching them, great care was taken to keep their place of confinement secret. They were removed from place to place, lest haply the vigilance and perseverance of friends should discover their concealment, and contrive means of secret correspondence. After a year's confinement at Magdebourg, Maubourg and De Puzy were transferred to Glatz, and Lafayette to Neisse.

These places are in the province of Silesia, in the

southeastern part of Prussia, and near the Austrian frontier, at no great distance from Olmutz. The sequel will show that their removal to this vicinity was only preparatory to another and a permanent removal, which was now contemplated, and the accomplishment of which alone was wanting to complete the infamy of the king of Prussia.

The journey was performed in miserable wagons, over four hundred and fifty miles of road, under an escort of armed soldiers — an officer always in the carriage with each of the prisoners, with a loaded pistol in his hand, and with orders never for a moment to lose sight of his charge, on penalty of losing his own head. By this time, Lameth had become so reduced, by the severities of his long imprisonment, that it was impossible to remove him. He seemed just ready to sink under his sufferings. Finding that death was about to wrench his victim from his cruel grasp, Frederick now yielded so far as to separate him from his fellow-prisoners, and allow him to be placed, on parole, under the care of his friends, on condition that he should not leave the Prussian states. On the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the French republic, in 1795, Lameth was, of necessity, set at liberty.

Frederick, by no means willing that the peace, which he foresaw it would be necessary to conclude with France, should deprive him of his other victims, who still had strength remaining for further tortures, had already delivered them over to Austria, under the apprehension that a demand would be made for their release. In consequence of this arrangement, they were transferred to Olmutz.

Though now within the same castle, and occupying cells in the same corridor, the friends were as completely guarded against all intercourse with each other, and

all knowledge of each other's condition, as if an ocean or a continent separated them. As they entered their cells, it was declared to each of them, that they would never come out of them alive—that they would never see anything but what was enclosed within the four walls of their respective cells—that they would hold no communication with the outer world, nor receive any kind of information of persons or things there—that their jailers were prohibited from even pronouncing their names—that, in the prison reports and government despatches, they would be referred to only by the numbers of their cells—that they would never be suffered to learn anything of the situation of their families, or even to know of each other's existence; and that, as such a situation of hopeless confinement would naturally incite to suicide, knives and forks, and all other instruments by which they might do violence to themselves, would be thenceforth withheld from them.

The building which formed the prison at Olmutz, was an ancient convent of Jesuits, transformed into a military barrack. The cells were vaulted, both above and below. They were on a level with the corridor, which was itself on a level with a large square court, surrounded with lofty buildings, from which the only outlet was through a massive and strongly-fortified vault. The door of this vault was always closed at sunset. Under it was stationed, night and day, a guard of thirty or forty men, and no one could pass in or out without undergoing a strict personal search, and a severe examination. On the south side, the cells were as high as the first story, and the windows looked out upon a terrace, or elevated rampart, from which there was a gentle slope of about three hundred feet, to the bank of a small stream flowing into the Morawa. Beyond the river, there was an upward slope of three hundred yards, terminated by the

walls of a fortress erected for the defence of the town on that side. The whole of this space, between the prison and the fortress, was occupied with magazines for military stores. There were, also, on that side, two guard-houses, commanding a view of the prison and its entrance, whose sentries were charged with the double duty of watching the prisoners, and keeping a vigilant eye upon the sentinels placed over them.

The elevated position of the castle, at one extreme of the town, with a good exposure to the south, and commanding a view of the country, would naturally make it an agreeable and healthy situation ; but the frequent and heavy fogs that lie along the valley, and the use of the stream as a common sewer, into which all the gutters and sink-drains of the town were continually discharging their contents, destroyed the natural advantages of the place, and made it a mere reservoir of rotteness, and a laboratory of offensive and noxious vapors.

The external walls of the prison were six feet thick, and the separation walls four feet, of that solid and durable masonry which characterized the works of the monks of the middle ages. The aperture for the windows, eight feet in height by four in breadth, opened in four divisions, the upper ones being closed and secured by padlocks, so that air was admitted by an opening only four feet square. This was still further obstructed by a double grating of massive iron bars, each set forming meshes six inches square, and so placed that the inner set obstructed the light which might have been admitted through the outer. The doors were double. The inner one was secured by a single lock ; the other, opening into the corridor, was two inches thick, secured by a heavy lock in the middle, and two enormous padlocks above and below. To these cells, the prisoners were so strictly confined that they never stepped out

of them for any purpose whatever. Their scanty and sometimes disgusting meals were furnished three times a day, under a system of guards sufficient to prevent the escape of a regiment of armed men. The general surveillance was intrusted to a major, attached permanently to the place, and a lieutenant of the garrison, who was always selected with special reference to his unsocial and unsympathizing nature. Under him was a sort of quasi corporal, whom they dignified with the title of *prévot*—a stupid, timid, covetous brute, whose entire being was absorbed in the two passions of fear and the desire of gain.

The interior guard, stationed under the great vaulted entrance, before mentioned, was composed of thirty picked men, commanded by two corporals. They relieved each other every two days, so that there were always fifteen men and a corporal on duty. The guard furnished five sentinels day and night; three in the corridor, and two on the terrace before the windows of the cells. The corridor could only be opened by the sentinel within, and no one could enter, whoever he might be, unless on duty. The doors of the prisoners' cells could never be opened, except at the stated hours named in the orders, and then only in presence of one of the corporals of the guard, who was obliged, each time, to obtain the keys from the commandant-general, and to return them himself within a specified time. If, during these intervals, any one of the prisoners had been attacked with sudden illness, however alarming, he must have died alone; for no provision was made by which he could convey a knowledge of his wants to the commandant, and the sentinels were strictly enjoined to pay no attention to anything the prisoners might say.

To make this security the more perfect, as well as to deprive the prisoners of the little consolation of knowing,

each day, that their companions were still alive, they were not allowed to eat at the same time, but were served in succession. During this ceremony, the whole guard of fifteen was under arms, and in service order, inside the corridor, the door leading into the court being closed and barred behind them. The door of one of the cells being then opened, one of the sentinels placed himself before it, with his musket across the opening, while another soldier, with a drawn sabre in his right hand, held the door with his left. While the meal was being arranged on the table, the corporal and the prévôt went into a minute examination of the cell, with a view to discover if any attempt at escape had been made, or provided for. The doors were then doubly locked and bolted, and the same cautious ceremony was observed at each of the other cells, in their turn.

The only solace which was allowed them was the possession of a few books, which were read and re-read, till they were quite worn out. But even of these, the utmost jealousy was manifested. The whole stock underwent a searching scrutiny, as senseless and bigoted as it was severe. In the first place, no work published subsequently to the beginning of the revolution, even though of a strictly religious character, was admitted. On this ground—a mere matter of date—a little devotional work, entitled “Imitation of Jesus Christ,” was rejected. Helvetius was confiscated, because, as they asserted, his works had spoiled the heart of the emperor Joseph II. An abridgment of the history of Greece was condemned, because, on the first opening, the eye of the commandant fell on the words, “liberty,” and “republic.” For other equally sage and important reasons, several other volumes were taken away, while some, of far more liberal sentiments, remained.

CHAPTER XX.

BOLLMANN AND HUGER'S ROMANTIC ADVENTURE.

To this rigid confinement the prisoners were subjected for nearly three years and a half. During all that time, Maubourg and De Puzy did not once pass the threshold of their cells. Lafayette, after a confinement of more than a year, was so reduced in health, that he was permitted, on the certificate of three physicians, several times repeated, with urgent representations of its absolute necessity, to take an occasional walk, under the guard of several officers.

Hitherto, the friends of Lafayette, and all the outer world, had been ignorant of the place of his confinement. Loud, but unavailing protests from America, from England, and from many parts of the continent, had been presented. The most urgent representations had been made, in high places, and under the sanction of the greatest names of the age, and measures, which will be detailed hereafter, had been put in train to effect his deliverance; but all to no purpose. So far from opening the door of his dungeon, they could not even discover the site of his prison.

About a year after his removal to Olmutz, an enterprise of a most daring and romantic character, was set on foot for his rescue. It was unfortunate in its issue, but its design and execution were worthy of the proud-

est age of chivalry. The cavaliers of this noble enterprise were Bollmann and Huger.

Dr. Erick Bollmann was a native of the electorate of Hanover. Brave, adventurous, philanthropic, and an ardent lover of liberty and of all its true advocates, he cheerfully and heartily enlisted in the cause of Lafayette. He had already made an unsuccessful attempt to procure his liberation, by presenting a memorial, in person, to Frederick of Prussia. And he now resolved to use other means, more effectual than humble petitions.

Having reconnoitred the country along the frontier, he selected Tarnowitz, as a place of temporary retreat, in case an opportunity should occur of rescuing the prisoner from captivity. This point determined in his mind, he proceeded toward Olmutz. Here he ascertained that several state-prisoners were kept in the citadel, with a degree of caution and mystery, which was quite uncommon. It seemed highly probable that Lafayette was one of them. Acting upon this supposition, the doctor visited the hospital, and endeavored to form an acquaintance with the first surgeon. The surgeon proved to be a man of intelligence, probity, and feeling. After several interviews, when the conversation turned on the effect of moral impressions on the constitution, Dr. Bollmann, drawing a pamphlet from his pocket, abruptly said: "Since we are on the subject, you attend the state-prisoners here. Lafayette is among them. His health is much impaired. Show him this pamphlet. Tell him a traveller left it with you, who lately saw in London all the persons named in it, his particular friends; that they are well, and continue attached to him as much as ever. This intelligence will do him more good than all your drugs."—At the same moment, he laid the pamphlet on the table, and perceiving that the surgeon knew not how to reply, changed the conversation, and soon after left him.

In a few days, the surgeon mentioned, of his own accord, that Lafayette wished to learn some further particulars respecting the situation of one or two persons whom he named. On hearing this, Bollmann, appearing to have accidentally about him some white paper, but which, in fact, had been prepared for the emergency, sat immediately down, and wrote a few lines in reply to the inquiries made, and finished with the sentence: "I am glad of the opportunity of addressing you these few words, which, when read *with your usual warmth*, will afford to a heart like yours some consolation." The paper had been previously written over with sympathetic ink, which would remain invisible, unless brought out by the application of heat. The slight hint conveyed in the last sentence sufficed; Lafayette became acquainted with his projects, and his readiness to serve him in any practicable way. But the mode could be pointed out only by the prisoner, as he alone, from within, could judge what might be hopefully attempted from without.

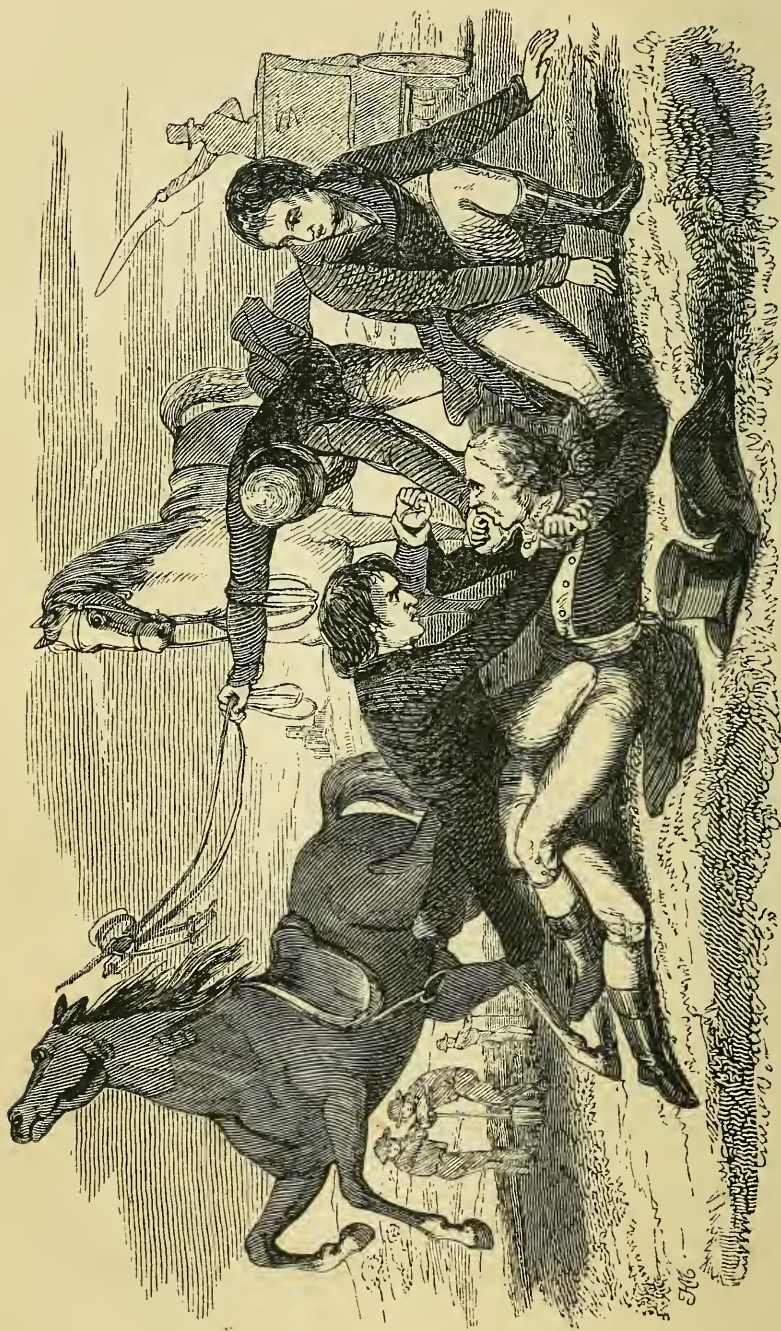
To guard against suspicion, the doctor, on the day following, proceeded to Vienna, where he remained a considerable time. He had a carriage constructed there, in which were contrived convenient places for conveying secretly a variety of articles, such as rope-ladders, cords, tools for cutting iron bars, and other instruments for similar purposes. These general preparations being made, he visited several gentlemen on their estates in Moravia, and took an opportunity of again touching at Olmutz, where he called on the surgeon, who returned him the pamphlet formerly left for Lafayette. On examining it, he found that the margins had been written over with sympathetic ink (lime-juice); and, on applying heat, learned that the captive, on account of his enfeebled state of health, after repeated applications, had at last obtained permission to take an airing, in a carriage, at

stated days in the week, accompanied by a military guard, and that by far the easiest mode to restore him to liberty, would be to attack the guard on one of these excursions, and then to take him off.

Having ascertained, for his guidance, that Lafayette, in taking his ride, sat in an open carriage, with an officer by his side, a driver on the box, and two armed soldiers standing behind, Dr. Bollmann returned to Vienna. As it was indispensable to have at least one coadjutor, he communicated his project to a young American gentleman, Francis Kinloch Huger, who had often mentioned to him, in conversation, that Lafayette, on arriving in America, first landed at his father's house, and there used often to have him on his knees, when a boy. He was a young man of uncommon talent, decision, and enthusiasm, possessed of a warm heart and a resolute mind; and he entered at once into the whole design, and devoted himself to its execution with the most romantic earnestness.

Having agreed upon a plan, they publicly announced their intention of returning to England together. Two saddle-horses were purchased, and a steady groom was engaged to attend them. Thus, sometimes sending the groom a station or two forward with the carriage, at others, leaving him to bring up the horses slowly, while they pushed on in the carriage, they arrived at Olmutz.

These two were the only persons on the continent, except Lafayette himself, who had the slightest suspicion of any arrangements for his rescue, and neither of these persons knew him by sight. When they reached Olmutz, Bollmann immediately visited the surgeon, and, knowing the day when the marquis was to take his ride, mentioned to him the same day as the one on which he intended to continue his journey. On that day (8th of November, 1794), the groom was despatched, at an early



Bollman and Huger attempting the Rescue of Lafayette at Olmutz.—Page 295.

hour, to Hoff, a post-town about twenty-five miles distant, with orders to have fresh horses in readiness at four o'clock. It had been concerted between the parties, that, to avoid all mistakes when the rescue should be attempted, each should take off his hat and wipe his forehead, in token of recognition.

Their saddle-horses were now ready at the inn, and Huger feigned some business near the town-gate, in order to watch the moment when the carriage should pass. As soon as he saw it, he hastened back to the inn. The two friends mounted immediately, and followed it at some distance, armed only with a pair of pistols, and those not loaded with ball. Their success was calculated on surprise; and, under all the circumstances of the case, to take any person's life would have been unjustifiable, useless, and imprudent.

They rode by the carriage, and then, slackening their pace and allowing it again to go ahead, exchanged signals with the prisoner. At two or three miles from the gate, the carriage left the high road, and passed into a less-frequented track, in the midst of an open country; the plain was covered with laboring people. Presently the carriage stopped. Lafayette and the officer stepped out, and walked arm-in-arm, probably to give the former more opportunity for exercise. The carriage, with the guard, drove slowly on, but remained in sight. This was evidently the moment for their attempt. The two companions galloped up, and Bollmann, dismounting, left his horse with Huger. At the same instant, Lafayette laid hold of the officer's sword, but could only half draw it from the scabbard, as the officer, a stout man, had seized it also. The doctor joining, he was presently disarmed; but then he grasped Lafayette, held him with all his might, and set up a tremendous roaring for help. The guard, on hearing it, instead of coming to his as-

sistance, fled to alarm the citadel. The people in the field stood aghast. A scuffle ensued. Huger passed the bridles of the two horses over one arm, and with the other hand thrust his handkerchief into the officer's mouth, to stop the noise. The officer, the prisoner, and the doctor, came to the ground. The doctor, kneeling on the officer, kept him down, while the general rose.

All would now have been well, but one of the horses, taking fright at the scene and noise, reared, slipped his bridle, and ran off. A countryman caught him, and was holding him at a considerable distance. Bollmann, still keeping down the officer, handed a purse to the general, requesting him to mount the horse which was left; and Huger told him, in English, to go to *Hoff*. He mistook what was said to him, for a more general direction to go *off*—delayed a moment, to see if he could not assist them—went on—rode back again, and asked once more if he could be of any service—and finally, urged anew, galloped away, and was out of sight in a minute.

The officer, recovering from his panic, fled toward Olmutz. The doctor and Huger recovered the horse that had escaped, and both mounted him, intending to follow and assist Lafayette; but the animal, less docile and tractable than the other, which had been trained to carry two persons, refused to perform this task, reared and bounded, and presently threw them both. Huger immediately exclaimed, "This will not do! The marquis wants you. Push on! I'll take my chance on foot across the country." The doctor pushed forward, and Huger, who had now little chance of escape, was soon seized by the peasants, and conducted back to Olmutz. These accidents defeated their romantic enterprise. Bollmann easily arrived at Hoff; but not finding Lafayette there, and being anxious to receive some intelligence of him, although he might readily have se-

cured himself by proceeding to Tarnowitz, he lingered about the frontiers till the next night, when he, too, was arrested by order of the Prussian authority, at the requisition of Austria.

Lafayette remained unpursued. He had taken a wrong road, which led to Jagersdoff, a place on the Prussian frontier, and followed it as long as his horse could proceed. He was within a few miles of the boundary of Austrian rule; and perceiving that his horse could go no farther, he accosted a man, whom he overtook on the road, not far from a village, and endeavored to prevail on him to procure him another horse, and to attend him to the frontier. The man appeared satisfied, and went toward the village for the horse. But the general had awakened suspicion by his accent, his appearance, his request, and his money. The man promptly returned from the village, but he came with a force to arrest the marquis, and conduct him before a magistrate. During three days, the period of his detention there, his name was unknown. He was at last recognised by an officer from Olmutz, to which fortress he was reconducted.

All three of the prisoners were separately confined, without being permitted to know anything of each other's fate. Huger was chained to the floor, in a small arched dungeon, about six by eight feet, without light, and with only bread and water for food; and once in six hours, by day and by night, the guard entered, and, with a lamp, examined each brick, and each link of his chains. To his earnest request to know something of Bollmann, and to learn whether Lafayette had escaped, he received no answer at all. To his still more earnest solicitation to be permitted to send to his mother, in America, merely the words, "*I am alive*," signed with his name, he received a rude refusal.

Bollmann was also put in chains, and conducted to a

dismal dungeon, half under ground. Only a faint light broke into it, through a narrow, oblique aperture, made in a wall upward of five feet thick. When he laid down at night, chained to the walls, he was attacked by myriads of famished vermin. Neither candle-light nor books were allowed him, and his food was limited to what could be procured for four cents per day. In this dreadful situation he remained more than two months, without communication with any person except the jailer; nor did he ever learn from him the fate of Mr. Huger. In fact, at first, every degree of brutal severity was practised toward both of them; but, afterward, this severity was relaxed. They were placed nearer together, where they could communicate with each other; and their trial, which was protracted during the whole winter, was begun with all the tedious formalities that could be prescribed by Austrian fear and caution; for they had dreamed, in Vienna, of a deep-rooted plot, and wide-extended conspiracy, and could not believe that such an attempt would be made merely by two individuals, and without any other design than simply that of restoring a man to freedom and to his friends.

By the powerful but unknown intercessions of many of the personal friends of Dr. Bollmann, in Vienna, but particularly through the influence of Count Metrowsky, a nobleman living near the prison, the rigor of their treatment was not only greatly mitigated, but, on the conclusion of their trial, they were merely sentenced to two weeks additional confinement, after having been already imprisoned during eight months. The doctor and Mr. Huger received many flattering marks of kindness and good will, even at Olmutz, before their departure; and their progress through Germany was a kind of triumph, though embittered by the recollection of the continued captivity of Lafayette.

CHAPTER XXI.

PRISON INCIDENTS AT OLMUTZ—EFFORTS TO PROCURE
LAFAYETTE'S RELEASE.

MORE than three years of captivity had now worn away. The last was more rigorous and distressing than any of the preceding. Thrown back into his wretched dungeon, with bitter taunts and execrations for his vain attempt to escape, he had scarcely a hope that his sufferings would have any other termination than death. His feet were put in irons, secured to a massive bolt in the floor, and so closely fastened about his ankles, that, for three months, he endured the most excruciating tortures. During the winter of 1794-'5, which was extremely severe, he was thrown into a fever, and reduced to the verge of the grave; and yet the severity of his confinement was in no way mitigated on this account. Neither food, clothing, nor attendance, suitable to his enfeebled condition, was allowed him. His bed was of damp, mouldy straw, which had not been changed for the season, to which he was confined by a chain round his waist, secured to the wall, and only long enough to enable him to turn from side to side. To add to his distresses, he was given to understand that he was only reserved for an ignominious execution, that the friends who had so nobly attempted his rescue had already perished on the scaffold, and that all his family had fallen under the sanguinary guillotine of Robespierre, of which he had heard

an appalling account during the few brief hours of his unfortunate attempt to escape.

The disinterested exertions of Bollman and Huger, while they recoiled upon themselves, and greatly increased the rigor of Lafayette's confinement, resulted in one great advantage to all who were interested in the fate of the captive. It revealed to the world the place of his captivity, and opened a way of access to it which could not be again closed up. During the latter half of these three long, dark, eventful years, the heroic wife and daughters of Lafayette, a wife and daughters worthy of the name and the man, had also been suffering a close imprisonment, among the thousands of virtuous victims of the era of proscription in France. Day after day, the companions of their imprisonment had been drawn out to the insatiable axe, and yet the prisons of the capital were crowded to suffocation with wretched beings, who, in countless numbers, awaited their turn to undergo the same horrible fate. Already, Madame de Noailles, the grandmother of Madame Lafayette, the Duchess d'Ayen, her mother, and the viscountess de Noailles, her sister, had been immolated on that infernal altar. The dark cycle was still revolving in the blood of thousands, without respect to age, or sex, or character. Her own day, and those of her daughters, were already marked in the dreadful calendar of the revolutionary tribunal. Utterly ignorant of the fate of husband and father, and equally ignorant of the fate that awaited themselves, their imprisonment was a season of hopeless and withering suspense, under which the spirit fainted, and the physical powers gave way.

By some unaccounted-for oversight, or by a refinement of cruelty which delights in lengthening out a season of agonizing suspense to the utmost limit of endurance, the day of their doom was suffered to pass by. Meanwhile,

the swift retributions of an All-Wise and just Providence, which overrules the affairs of nations, and often vindicates itself in the fates of men, lingered not. The revolution overleaped itself. The master-spirit of the Convention was condemned by his own tribunal. The blood of Robespierre washed away the reproach of the guillotine. The prison-doors were thrown open, and their innocent, unsuspected, uncondemned inmates, of every rank, age, and sex, chargeable only with virtue superior to the evil times on which they had fallen, rushed forth to light, life, and liberty. The axe rested, surfeited with blood, and the purple stream that flowed beneath it—

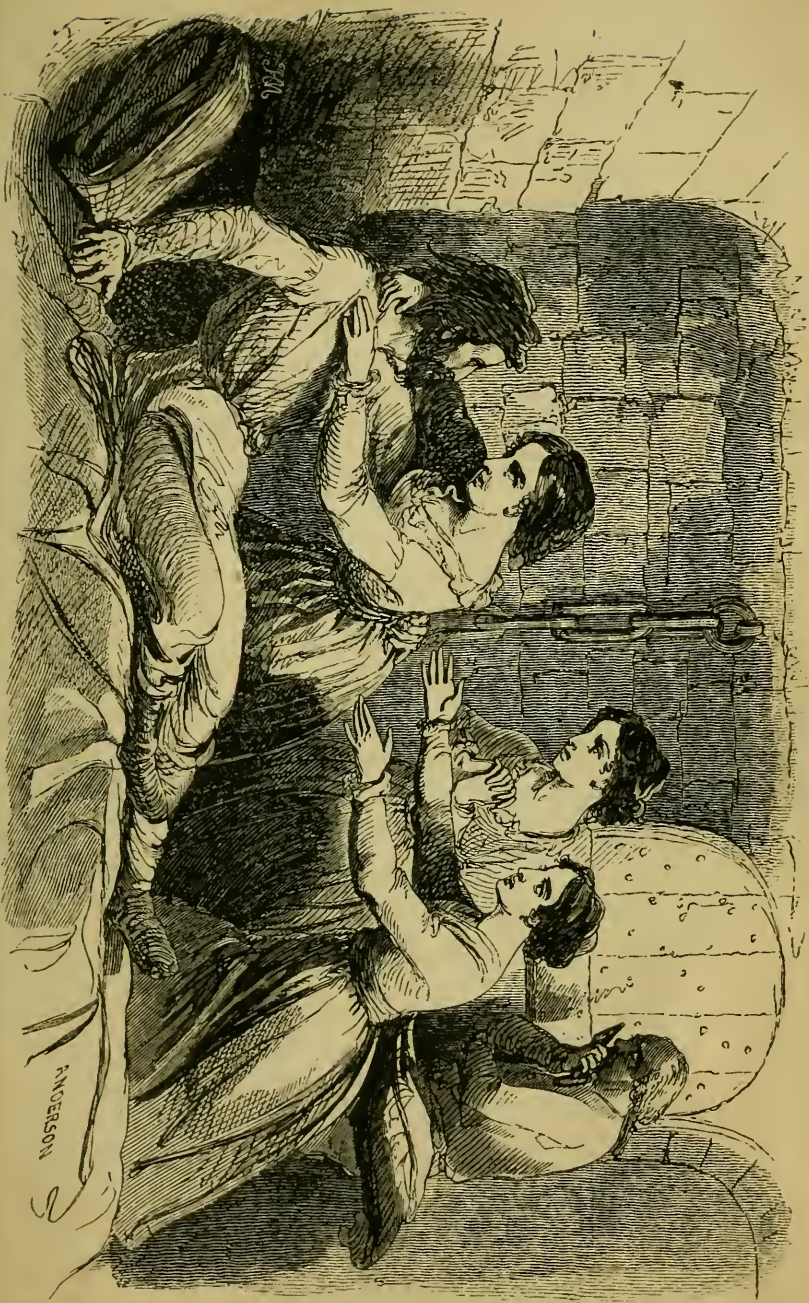
“Ebbcd, and languished, and died away.”

No sooner was Madame Lafayette restored to liberty, than, sending her son George to America, to be placed under the care of Washington, she set out, accompanied by her daughters, for Germany, to see what a wife could do for the release of her husband. They passed under the name of Motier, and with the protection of American passports. On arriving at Vienna, she sought, and, through the kind offices of the prince de Rozemberg, obtained, an audience for herself and her daughters. The interview can better be imagined than described. The emperor was Francis I., nephew of the late unfortunate Marie Antoinette, queen of France. The petitioner was the wife of Lafayette, whom, notwithstanding his eminent services, and his fidelity to the king, Marie had always distrusted and hated, as an enemy in disguise. It is quite probable that all the royal house of Austria were infected by the same suspicions, and filled with the same dislike. In addition to this, the emperor was, by his own confession, bound by engagements with his allies in the war against the French revolution. He had assumed the odious character of a jailer, without

reserving the right of relinquishing it at pleasure. To all her appeals for a restoration of her husband to liberty, and her assurances that they would depart instantly for America, he coldly replied, that his hands were tied—that he could not, if he would, grant her request. She then asked leave to share his imprisonment, with her daughters. This was reluctantly granted by him, in opposition to the wishes and counsels of his ministers; but it was accompanied with restrictions and severities worthy of the inquisition or the Bastile. The rigors of a stateprison were not to be remitted by the entrance within its gloomy walls of these angels of mercy, nor mitigated by any of the comforts which they had provided. They alone were allowed to enter, after leaving behind them everything that could possibly be spared from their own conveniences, and all that did not absolutely belong to themselves. They were also assured, in entering the walls of the prison, that they would close on them for life.

Unmoved by these appalling prospects, and desiring only to share life, in whatever condition, with a husband and a father, whom they regarded with affection and respect approaching to idolatry, they hastened, with the utmost despatch, to Olmutz, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, and presented their imperial passports at the gate of the prison.

Their meeting, who shall attempt to describe! One moment, the heart of the husband and father is fainting under those horrible doubts which, far worse than certain evils, oppress and overwhelm the soul—imagining the wife of his youth, and the children of his love, pining in prisons as dark and wretched as his own, or led out, amid the brutal acclamations of infuriated fiends, to the scaffold and the axe!—the next moment, the door of his cell flies open at an unusual hour, and while he,



perhaps with a feeling of relief, looks up to see his own executioner enter, his wife and children rush into his arms, and cover him with kisses and tears !

From this time, these noble-hearted women did not leave the prison, till they accompanied Lafayette, on his liberation, in 1797. His daughter Anastasie was sixteen years of age, and Virginia thirteen, when they entered Olmutz. Confined in separate cells for eighteen hours of each day, and allowed to pass only six hours in the narrow cell of their father, the time must have moved on with leaden wings. Its wretched monotony was relieved only by the continual exercise of their ingenuity in devising means to add to the comforts, and lighten the burdens, of their parents. Unhappily, there was ample scope for the use of all their talents. The wardrobe of their father was so reduced, that it was scarcely possible to keep him decently covered. As the police of the prison contemplated no provision of this kind, it was necessarily supplied by the skill and industry of his daughters. So scanty were their means of supplying this deficiency, that the only stockings he had to wear were patched up from the shreds of an old coat.

But innocence and love are cheerful under all circumstances, where opportunity is afforded to cherish the objects of love. The unspeakable satisfaction of being near their father, enlivening his solitude, and administering to his wants, made Olmutz their paradise, and the prison their home. They felt no hardships but his, and realized no privations but as they affected him. They lavished upon him every attention. They sung, and played, and laughed, and whiled away the weary hours of the day, till they seemed as short as they were few. They amused themselves with all that was strange or grotesque in the appointments of their narrow quarters

in the castle, as well as in the persons and characters of their jailers, who, being set for their guards and attendants, became, less by virtue of their office than by their own innate selfishness and inhumanity, their daily tormentors. The officers and guards, each in their turn, with one honorable exception, came in for their share of this harmless sarcasm. The poor prévot, before mentioned, was the master-subject of their wit. Of him they preserved a lasting memorial, in a faithful sketch made by Anastasia, an enlarged copy of which is here presented. The original was drawn on the young lady's thumb-nail, lest it should be discovered and seized, or made a pretext for some new indignity; for she could hardly suppose that the old fellow, who had probably never enjoyed the luxury of a mirror, would be flattered or pleased with a faithful full-length portrait. He is represented in the act of opening the door at the entrance of the corridor.

During all their confinement at Olmutz, their keepers and attendants are characterized as coarse, unfeeling, and cruel, with the single exception of Count M'Elligot, who had charge of the police of the prison during a portion of their last year, of whom honorable and grateful mention is made, for the kindness and urbanity which invariably marked his conduct.

In their attempts to amuse their parents, and to alleviate the hardships of their captivity, the young ladies were greatly assisted by the untiring zeal and fruitful ingenuity of their two servants, Jules and Felix, who still, with a fidelity worthy of all praise, clung to them through all the hardships and privations of their long confinement. From prison to prison, they had followed Lafayette, and administered, as far as they were permitted to do, to his most pressing wants. This service was rendered exceedingly difficult and trying, by the



The Prevôt at Olmutz.—Page 304.

harshness and suspicion of the officers. At one time, Felix was severely punished, and shut up in a low, dark hole for three months, and fed only upon black bread and water, because he was suspected of attempting to contrive a medium of communication between his master and his fellow-prisoners; after which Lafayette was not permitted to see him for more than two years. Yet he remained, a voluntary prisoner in the gloomy castle, and subject to all the privations of a dungeon, till his general was released, and he was permitted to accompany him home. His fidelity was the more remarkable, as he was only sixteen years old at the time of his arrest.

Felix was a youth of no little taste, and had cultivated music to some purpose; and when he was not permitted to hold any direct communication with his master, he often enlivened the dull hours of their wearisome solitude by the dulcet notes of his flute, which he played at the grating of his own cell, so that the sounds might reach the ears of the occupants of the adjoining cells. It is wonderful that his over-cautious jailers allowed even this indulgence; they certainly would not have done so, if they had known all the mysterious agencies of these notes, and the purpose for which they were often employed. In the early part of their imprisonment, Felix had invented a kind of musical language, known only to the prisoners, by means of which he often succeeded in conveying intelligence from one to the other, of their respective situations and wants. He several times eluded the vigilance of the jailers so far as to convey interesting messages from cell to cell, and even to provide secret means of correspondence with friends without. True, his ingenuity accomplished nothing important; but it occupied and elevated his own spirits, shed an occasional gleam of sunshine over the dark mo-

notony of solitary confinement, and proved the depth and sincerity of his devotion to a master who was worthy of the attachment he inspired.

The close imprisonment of Madame Lafayette, in a place so damp and unwholesome, following immediately upon her confinement of a year and a half in the prison of the Tribunal at Paris, proved too much for her strength. She became exceedingly reduced ; and at length, in submission to the earnest entreaties of her husband and children, was induced to write to the emperor, asking permission to pass a week at Vienna, where she might breathe a pure air, and enjoy the advantages of a wholesome regimen, and the advice of a physician. Two months this reasonable petition remained unnoticed. At the expiration of that period, the commandant of the prison, who had never before honored her with a visit, entered her cell, and, having directed her daughters to leave her, informed her that she was prohibited from ever appearing at Vienna, but that she had leave to depart from the fortress, on condition of never returning to it again, or remaining in any of the dominions of the emperor. Requiring her to decide on the instant, and to commit her decision to paper, she seized a pen, and wrote as follows :—

“I owed it to my family and my friends, to ask the assistance necessary for my health ; but they know that the conditions attached to it can not be accepted by me. I never can forget that, while we were both on the point of perishing—I by the tyranny of Robespierre, my husband by the physical and moral sufferings of his captivity—I was not permitted to receive any news of him, nor he to learn that his children and I still existed. I will not expose myself to the horror of a new separation. Whatever may be the state of my health, or the inconvenience of this residence to my daughters, we shall

gratefully avail ourselves of his imperial majesty's goodness, in permitting us to share my husband's captivity in all its details.

"NOAILLES LAFAYETTE."

From the moment of the arrest of Lafayette, earnest and vigorous efforts were made, by his numberless friends, and by many who were personally strangers to him, to procure his release. General Washington had just entered upon the second term of his administration. With intense interest and untiring zeal, he applied himself to such measures as were deemed most likely to prove availing for the restoration of his friend to liberty. In his official capacity, as head of the nation, he could not interpose, without involving the country in the controversy; but he caused the most urgent representations to be made in his behalf, to the governments of England and France, instructing the ministers resident near those courts to leave no means untried to procure his speedy liberation.

With a delicacy which is always a characteristic of great minds, Washington addressed a letter to Madame Lafayette, informing her that one thousand dollars were placed to her credit with his bankers in Holland, he being indebted in more than that amount to her husband, for services rendered, of which he had not received an account. He then sent Mr. Marshall to Berlin, with an urgent and eloquent letter to the king of Prussia, soliciting, not only as an act of justice, but as a personal favor to himself, the release of his noble prisoner. But he had already been transferred to the sterner keeping of Austria. Direct application was then made, through Mr. Jay, to the court of Vienna, followed by a private, unofficial letter from Washington, marked by the peculiar dignity, simplicity, and force of reasoning, which characterize all his voluminous correspondence. "It will readily occur to your majesty," he says, "that oc-

casions may sometimes exist, on which official considerations would constrain the chief of a nation to be silent and passive, in relation even to objects which affect his sensibility, and claim his interposition, as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation at present, I take the liberty of writing this private letter to your majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

“In common with the people of this country, I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the marquis de Lafayette, and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathize with him and his family, in their misfortunes, and endeavor to mitigate the calamities they experience, among which his present confinement is not the least distressing.

“I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your majesty’s consideration, whether his long imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estate, and the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all these circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings which recommend him to the mediation of humanity? Allow me, sir, on this occasion, to be its organ; and to entreat that he may be permitted to come to this country, on such conditions, and under such instructions, as your majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

“As it is a maxim with me not to ask what, under similar circumstances, I would not grant, your majesty will do me the justice to believe that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom, which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory.”

To all these appeals, the court of Vienna was inexorably deaf. Permission was refused even to transmit an

open letter to Madame Lafayette, inquiring after her health and that of the prisoners. An ineffectual effort was also made to procure his release, by paying any amount of ransom which the cupidity of his captors might exact, and large sums were remitted from America, for that purpose, to two of his aides in London.

Meanwhile, the most earnest efforts were made to secure the mediation of England in this matter. The American ministers in Europe exerted all their influence to this end. Washington addressed letters to all his influential friends in England and on the continent, pressing every motive of policy, friendship, humanity, and justice, in support of his object. The leading journals of America and Europe advocated the cause with all the zeal and talent they could command. Numerous supporters arose in every quarter; friends increased on every side. Men, to whom Lafayette was a total stranger, who knew him only as the champion of freedom, and a martyr to its cause, arrayed themselves for his defence, and called loudly for his deliverance. It seemed as if the virtuous and noble-hearted of every land and language, claimed him as a brother, and felt that the cause of humanity was the cause of Lafayette.

On the other hand, the kings and aristocrats of Europe, with their partisans, interested in upholding the ancient order of things, secretly triumphed in the downfall of a man, by whose means the atmosphere of despotic Europe had become infected with the influences of American freedom. They regarded his very existence as incompatible with the safety of the existing governments of Europe. They associated his name with all that was fearful in revolution, and destructive in anarchy. The accusation of Fayettism was in itself a decree of imprisonment or death. The archives of their tribunals, if examined, would disclose multitudes of com-

mitments and condemnations on this charge alone. In terror of its extension and prevalence, they not only sustained the emperor of Austria in his unholy act of oppression, but, as he himself declared to Madame Lafayette, "tied his hands" by their selfish diplomacy.

Under these circumstances, his name became the rallying word of liberty. Often did good citizens, men of the highest character for virtue and talents, when proscribed by anarchists in France, or by monarchists elsewhere, profess before the tribunals, and even on the scaffold, their profound attachment to the principles and the person of Lafayette. "Behold !" said an officer at the battle of Fleurus, while passing before a battalion of the National Guards, "behold a company of Fayetteists !" — "Yes," replied the captain, proudly, "we are all Fayetteists, and you shall see if we fight or fly." They went into the thick of the battle, and but few of them returned alive.

Of the many private citizens who took a deep and active interest in the release of Lafayette, the most remarkable was Joseph Masclet. He was a Frenchman, a man of extensive learning, fine taste, and ardent patriotism. Proscribed for his attachment to the constitution, he made his escape to England, where he met with Talleyrand, and other emigrants of distinction. Talleyrand had formed the design of proceeding to America, and expressed a strong desire that Masclet should accompany him. But an affair of the heart detained him. He married and remained in England.

Masclet was not personally acquainted with Lafayette, and had never even seen him ; but he shared his political principles, and admired his virtues. Having retired to a country-seat near London, he wrote constantly and powerfully against the unjust detention of Lafayette, and published his numerous articles in the Morning Chroni-

cle, and in the journals of Holland and Hamburg, over the Greek signature of *Eleuthère*, or Freeman. The better to further his object, he connected himself with the opposition members of the British parliament, and, through them, made the people of England speak loudly in reprobation of France, for remaining indifferent to the unjust captivity of so distinguished a citizen. He secured the assistance of active and intelligent agents, by whose means, though with infinite difficulty, he established a correspondence with the prisoners, which, though irregular, and often interrupted, acquainted them with the efforts of friends on their behalf, and enabled him to speak confidently of their situation, and the severe treatment to which they were subjected. So powerful were his arguments, so urgent his appeals, that even the despotic emperor was compelled, in very shame, to assign reasons for his oppressive conduct. It was then that he made the memorable declaration, which betrayed the almost puerile weakness of his fears, that “the existence of Lafayette was incompatible with the safety of the present governments of Europe.”

The generous undertaking of Masclet was not only a difficult but a dangerous one. It drew upon himself the hatred and the persecution of all the crowned heads of Europe. Exasperated at the boldness and truth of his disclosures, Francis sent several emissaries to London, to discover, and, if possible, put to silence, the daring and troublesome Eleuthère. Had he been found, he would, no doubt, have been secretly assassinated, or kidnapped and hurried to Olmutz, never again to see the light of day. But, safe under laws, where alone there is safety for the citizen, laws that guaranty the freedom of the press, Eleuthère baffled the secret agents of Austria, and reiterated his complaints in louder tones and severer denunciations than before, till the emperor was

compelled to attempt another vindication of his course. This was in the form of a manifesto, setting forth his extreme lenity to his prisoners, and the many and unusual indulgences granted them in their confinement. This was met by a vigorous refutation from Masclet, revealing the whole truth, and showing up, in all their sickening details, their numberless privations, the harsh and unnecessary rigor of their confinement, and the petty vexations by which their captivity was aggravated.

To its shame be it said, the English cabinet, under the administration of Pitt, was ranked with the enemies of Lafayette. By the eloquence and perseverance of Masclet, however, a powerful interest in his favor was awakened among the most distinguished of the opposition members. Fox, Wilberforce, Sheridan, Grey, Fitzpatrick, and Tarleton—the same Tarleton who, under Cornwallis, had fought against Lafayette in Virginia—made repeated and courageous efforts to compel the interference of the government in behalf of the prisoners of Olmutz. They were seconded by some of the ablest writers and most illustrious men on the continent, and by many even in the heart of Germany, and under the shadow of the imperial throne. “I can never believe,” said the brave Fitzpatrick, “that this country hates a man born in France, because he instituted the National Guards, who, after having for two years, under his orders, protected property and maintained the tranquillity of the capital, have enabled France to establish the government of her choice against all the efforts of coalesced Europe; still less can I, by any admission, sanction the idea that there exists in any corner of the British soil, in any English heart, conceptions so narrow, vengeance so base, as to wish to see the pupil of the illustrious Washington perishing in a dungeon on account of his political principles, were it even true that

he had learned those principles by supporting the cause of America against Great Britain."

Fox, in one of his impassioned addresses, alluding to the base proposal of the king of Prussia, to give Lafayette his liberty on condition that he would furnish plans for military operations against France, said: "With the same diabolical perversity which afterward suggested to the Austrian ministers the laying of snares for the courageous affection of the wife, endeavors were made to seduce the patriotism of the husband. Base men had dared to hope that Lafayette would be disposed to renounce his brilliant and justly-acquired reputation; that he would stain the laurels with which he was covered, and sacrifice a noble character, which will flourish in the annals of the world, and live in the veneration of posterity, when kings, and the crowns they wear, will be no more regarded than the dust to which they must return. But Lafayette, while he condemned the measures which exiled him, was too magnanimous to favor the designs of those who were leagued against his country. The idea of such perfidy could not approach that heart, which never for a moment ceased to glow with a sacred fire of the purest and most religious patriotism."

But the court of Vienna was insensible alike to the voice of reason, the claims of justice, and the appeals of humanity. It was not, however, wholly impregnable. There was one point in which it could be successfully assailed; and that which could not be won from its justice or its humanity, was at length extorted from its fears. While the calm persuasive dignity of Washington, the impassioned eloquence of Fox and Fitzpatrick, and the importunate zeal and unanswerable logic of Masclet, did but rivet faster the chains of despotism, which they were endeavoring to break, it was reserved for the all-conquering sword of Napoleon to sever them at a blow.

CHAPTER XXII.

LAFAYETTE RESTORED TO LIBERTY.

WHEN the reign of terror, having exhausted anarchy of its victims, and satiated Death with blood, gave way to returning reason, the voice of France was again heard, amid the smouldering ashes of her desecrated altars, asking for her exiled martyrs. In the early part of 1797, Napoleon was general-in-chief of the army of Italy. Hanging on the confines of Austria, within a few days' march of her capital, he threatened her with a deluge of arms, like that which once poured down from "the populous north" upon the plains of Italy. Austria trembled at his advance, and made hasty proposals of peace. Assuming the powers of a negotiator, the youthful general included in his preliminaries a demand for the immediate release of the prisoners of Olmutz. His generous thought was seconded by the immediate action of the Directory, instructing him to insist upon his demand, as the *sine qua non* of the treaty. General Clarke, commissioned to meet the envoys of Austria, at Turin, had instructions to the same effect, which he urged with the vehemence and perseverance of a generous-hearted soldier.

Austria promised, but delayed. France reiterated her demand, and instructed her envoys to say, peremptorily, to the cabinet of Vienna, that "the time had arrived for a categorical explanation ; that the prolonged detention

of the prisoners of Olmutz, after the promise of their enlargement, led to a suspicion of a rupture; that the speedy liberation of the prisoners was the most unequivocal pledge which his imperial majesty could give to the French republic, of his desire to bring to a happy issue a negotiation that essentially interested the welfare of both nations, and the tranquillity of Europe." This was language too decided to be misunderstood. Further delay was impossible. Lieutenant-General Chasteler was therefore commissioned to propose to the prisoners the conditions on which they should receive their freedom. These were, that Lafayette should immediately depart for America, and that all of them should sign a pledge never again to enter any part of the Austrian dominions, without the special permission of the emperor. In the hope that the prospect of immediate deliverance would induce them to gloss over the story of their wrongs, and thus shield the government from the odium of cruel and impolitic severity, General Chasteler was also instructed to obtain from each of them a statement of the treatment they had received at Olmutz.

In reply to this commission, Lafayette declined making any complaints, but referred, for the treatment he had received, to the instructions sent from Vienna, in the name of the emperor. Maubourg and De Puzy, on the other hand, set forth the hardships they had endured, in their true colors, confirming, in all respects, the often reiterated charges of Masclet. To the conditions imposed upon him, Lafayette replied, that it had long been his intention to repair to America, as soon as he should have the power to do so; but, as a pledge to that effect, under present circumstances, would appear like an acknowledgment of the emperor's right to impose such a condition, he felt it inexpedient to give it. On the other condition, his answer was in these words: "His majesty,

the emperor and king, has done me honor to announce to me that, as the principles which I profess are incompatible with the safety of the Austrian government, he can not consent to my return to his states, without his special permission. There are certain duties, the fulfilment of which I can not decline. Some I owe to the United States, and more to France. I can not, under any circumstances, release myself from the right which my country possesses over my person. With this reservation, I can assure general the marquis de Chasteler of my fixed determination never to set foot in any state subject to his imperial majesty, the king of Bohemia and Hungary." Maubourg and De Puzy made each a similar reservation.

These manly replies were wholly unsatisfactory to the court. The Austrian ambassadors, however, at the headquarters of the French army in Italy, were instructed to declare that the prisoners were liberated. They hoped thus to secure the ratification of the treaty, and then to cover, by an endless tissue of diplomacy, this flagrant breach of one of the stipulations. But Bonaparte was as quick-sighted as he was rapid and energetic in action. He immediately suspected the treachery, and, with his characteristic promptness, despatched Louis Romeuf, an ardent admirer of Lafayette, and one of his aides in the National Guards, to treat directly with the prime-minister Thugut, at Vienna.

Many obstacles were thrown in his way, but Romeuf manfully surmounted them all, and presented his demand, in person, to the court, requiring, not assurances only, but evidence, that the gates of Olmutz had been thrown open, and the citizens of France set free. With all the warmth of his enthusiastic nature, and of a devoted attachment to Lafayette, he earnestly solicited permission to go to Olmutz, "to embrace there the martyrs

to the noble cause in which he was engaged." This, though often repeated, was constantly refused.

Backed by the terror of Napoleon's name and sword, Romeuf's mission was short and successful. The court consented that the prisoners should be liberated at once, on the sole condition that "the American consul at Hamburg would promise to do his utmost to engage them to quit the territory of Austria within ten days after their arrival at that place.

Hastening to Hamburg, Romeuf soon returned to Vienna, with the official pledge of Mr. Parish, the American consul, and his assurance that a vessel should be immediately placed at the disposal of Lafayette, to convey him and his friends to America, should they desire to go. Ample funds were, at the same time, placed at their disposal, to provide them with every convenience. The gallant Romeuf now urgently renewed his solicitations to be permitted to become the bearer of this intelligence to Olmutz, that he might enjoy the singular satisfaction of seeing its massive gates fly open at his bidding, and of receiving to his embrace, and ushering back to life and liberty, his venerated commander, and the devoted sharers of his long captivity. The privilege was still peremptorily denied, though the minister had the courtesy to offer to convey any letters which he might please to write.

Romeuf's letter to Lafayette, on this occasion, is full of interest, and expresses an intense affection, as creditable to him who felt it, as to him who was capable of inspiring it. It speaks of the extreme irritation of the emperor and his ministers, on the refusal of the prisoners to accept of their recent proposals, and their absolute determination never to relent—of the warm and decided zeal of Bonaparte in their behalf—of his own audiences with the minister Thugut, and the re-

sult—of his journey to Hamburg in consequence—of his urgent solicitations to be suffered to meet the prisoners at Olmutz, and of the arrangements then made to receive his answer at Ratisbonne, on the way to Hamburg. “At that place,” he says, “I shall join Madame de Maubourg, and two of her daughters, and Madame de Puzy, with her daughter, for whom, also, I earnestly requested permission to go with me, and receive you at the gate of your citadel; but it could not be allowed. At Hamburg, we shall have the happiness to embrace you. I am intoxicated with the hope that the day is not far distant.” It was, in truth, nearer than he supposed.

In announcing their release to Mr. Parish, the Austrian minister exhibited a specimen of not uncommon diplomatic meanness, in denying the agency of France in the result, and ascribing it wholly to the peculiar regard of the empéror for the president and people of the United States, and his desire to afford them some definite proof of that regard, in the person of Lafayette. Washington must have been overwhelmed with the compliment, when he remembered that, for two long years, his urgent appeals had been lying neglected—that his numerous envoys had been treated with contempt, and sent away empty—that, to every demand hitherto, from every source, a flat denial had been given—that, in the recent proposals for their release, a condition had been annexed of their immediate deportation to America, as of felons to the Botany-Bay of freedom, and that the flattering token of imperial regard was coldly withheld, till the victorious army of France was at the gates of his palace, and the sword of the conqueror suspended over his head.

On the 19th of September, 1797, Lafayette and his friends stepped forth into the light of day, having been

five years and one month in prison ; three years and four months of which were passed in the dismal dungeons of Olmutz. During all this latter period, they had not seen each other's faces, nor held any kind of intercourse, except such as had been stealthily arranged by the ingenious devices of Felix and Jules. The presence of his wife and daughters, during the last twenty-two months of his captivity, had done much to restore the health of Lafayette, which had well nigh sunk under an oppressive anxiety for their welfare. His hair, which had entirely fallen off in one of the fevers which threatened his life in the early part of his confinement, was now partially restored, and he appeared to his friends to have suffered but little from his long incarceration.

But, though out of prison, the captives were not absolutely free. So formidable a personage as Lafayette needed unusual watching, and many solemn guaranties were required, before the puissant emperor, and the mighty empire, of Austria could feel safe in letting him loose. As with Gulliver in Lilliput, they seemed to fear that he would crush them under his feet. The ground trembled as he walked. They would gladly have put him in a balloon, and sent him through the air to America, lest revolutions should spring up in the highways, as he journeyed, or trees of liberty grow in his footprints. He was accordingly put under a military escort, commanded by a major in the Austrian army, charged to convey him to Hamburg, and deliver him into the hands of the baron de Buol, his majesty's minister to the states of Lower Saxony, by whom he was to be formally surrendered to the American consul, under the pledge already exacted, that he should be carried beyond the boundaries of Austria within ten days after his arrival at Hamburg.

The journey consumed sixteen days, it being necessary to travel very slowly on account of the extreme

weakness of Madame Lafayette. She had been seriously ill more than a year, but was now convalescent. At Dresden, they were unexpectedly met by Romeuf, with the families of Maubourg and De Puzy, the wife of the latter having but one daughter, five years old, whom the father had never seen. The prisoners received, in all parts of the route, but especially at Dresden, Leipsig, and Halle, the most affecting testimonials of interest from the friends of liberty, of whom Germany, though ruled, in some of its sections, with a rod of iron, has always had a numerous band.

Hamburg is one of the Hanse-towns, or free cities of Germany, having an extensive commerce with the world. The representatives of all nations are there, and there the guarded captives found a welcome from their own countrymen, from Americans, from Englishmen, from noble-spirited, independent Germans, Prussians, and men of every name and language. They entered the city on the 4th of October. An immense crowd of people witnessed their arrival. The streets were lined with thousands who came, from idle curiosity, to see the *lions*, or from personal sympathy and interest, to give them a fitting reception. The house of Mr. Parish, the consul, was thronged with personal friends, some of whom had never seen Lafayette, but many of whom were bound to him by long years of devoted friendship. A lane was formed, and they passed into the private room of the consul, amid the *vivats* of the multitude, and the warm though silent congratulations of friends. Lafayette led the way; his wife, in a state of extreme debility, leaning heavily on his arm. His two daughters followed, while Maubourg and De Puzy, with their wives and children, and the gallant Romeuf, brought up the rear.

— In the house of an American, they felt that they were

free indeed. Lafayette embraced the consul with a warmth which showed that five years of imprisonment, under imperial jailers, had in no degree lessened his love for his friends, or his attachment to the American name. His wife and children gathered round him, and expressed, in the warmest terms, the grateful joy they experienced in meeting him who was made the instrument of their deliverance.

In the midst of this scene, the baron de Buol entered. After the usual courtesies of an introduction, they retired to an inner room, accompanied by the baron's secretary, the commanding officer of the escort, and Mr. Morris, late American minister at Paris. Here the baron made a very handsome address to the prisoners, dwelling chiefly upon the satisfaction he felt in delivering them over to the care of a friend, who loved and respected them so much. He then addressed a few complimentary words to the consul, reminding him of his engagements to the emperor, and of the condition on which this transfer was made, viz., to have the prisoners removed beyond the limits of Germany within ten days from that hour. Then, turning again to Lafayette, with an official, yet courteous smile, he said, "You are now free." Yes, and he was free indeed, though bound to leave Germany in ten days, and never voluntarily to return. Thanks to the spirit of our free institutions, the custody of an American consul, under bonds, is perfect freedom, in comparison with the best aspects of liberty in the dominions of the emperor of Austria.

Remaining in Hamburg only so long as was necessary for rest, and the arrangement of their personal affairs, they used all diligence to leave the realms of his imperial majesty for some more hospitable region. The first act of freedom in which they indulged, was an expression of gratitude to General Bonaparte, for the lively

interest and efficient zeal he had manifested in securing their liberation. This joint letter, dated Hamburg, October 6, 1797, commences thus: "Citizen-general: The prisoners of Olmutz, happy in owing their deliverance to the kindness of their country, and to your irresistible arms, have, during their captivity, enjoyed the thought that their liberty and their lives were associated with the triumphs of the republic, and with your personal glory. It would have afforded us the sincerest pleasure, could we offer in person these sentiments of gratitude, and see, on the theatre of so many victories, the army which achieved them, and the hero who has added to his many miracles of power our resurrection. But you know that the journey to Hamburg was not left to our choice. It is the place where we have said our last adieu to our jailers, and where we can address our thanks to their conqueror."

To General Clarke, then just deposed from the office of minister of war, and in disgrace with the ever-changeable Directory—to M. Talleyrand, minister of foreign relations—to Masclet—to Messrs. Bollmann and Huger—to General Fitzpatrick, and others, who had manifested so warm an interest in their deliverance, they addressed similar notes of congratulation and thanks.

To Huger, Lafayette thus writes: "Behold the friend whom you so generously undertook to rescue from his captivity, and who, in the first moment of his return to liberty and life, hastens, with a throbbing heart, to offer you the tribute of an inexpressible affection, and a boundless gratitude. That which you did for me, the manner of doing it, my heroic friend, attaches me to you by eternal bonds of admiration and gratitude. Your sufferings, your dangers, supported with such nobleness and intrepidity, did not find in me a corresponding firmness. I was tortured with such unspeakable agony and

suspense, which my keepers were forbidden to relieve, that my life was endangered by my sufferings; and it was only preserved by the joyful tidings of your deliverance, which, in spite of the cruel obstacles to prevent it, I had the happiness to receive. In vain shall I attempt to describe to you my feelings, when this consoling assurance was secretly conveyed to me."

The letter to General Fitzpatrick enumerates a large number of English friends, to whom he took occasion to acknowledge the same obligations—Fox, Sheridan, Grey, Tarleton, Smith, Jekyl, Whitbread, Lord Lauderdale, the duke of Bedford, Wilberforce, and the duchess of Devonshire, all of whom, with Clarkson, and many others, had exerted their utmost influence to procure his release. Nor was this interest for his welfare, in England, confined to persons in public life, or to mere solicitations, letters, essays, and speeches, in his behalf. It pervaded the liberal portion of society, and moved to acts of noble generosity the hearts of persons unknown to the great world, and unambitious of the distinctions of public life. Among these was a Mrs. Edwards, of whom Lafayette knew nothing but her name, and that only from a letter received at Hamburg from the executor of her estate, with the following extract from her will:—

"I bequeath to M. Lafayette, general of the French army, at present a prisoner in Prussia, whose character has always appeared to me virtuous and noble—I bequeath to him, or, if his death should occur before my own, I give to his widow and children, the sum of *one thousand pounds sterling*, to be paid to him, or to those who may be authorized to receive it, with interest at four per cent., from the day of my death to the time when it shall be paid over. If they continue in adversity, this trifle will be of use to them; if not, I am sure they will not disdain this humble offering of sincere respect."

A similar tribute, from another English lady, whose name is not given, amounting to three thousand pounds sterling, was received some time after, during his residence in Holstein. All his property in France having been confiscated, these substantial tokens of a world's esteem came like special interpositions of Providence, to sustain him in his singular position, when, proscribed in his own country, an outcast from his paternal inheritance, he sought, as a citizen of the world, a temporary resting-place on neutral ground.

Having acknowledged, and so far discharged, these debts of the heart—having received and returned the congratulatory visits of his aides-de-camp, of the Batavian minister, of the American consul, of Archenholtz, of Klopstock, the patriot-poet, and of many other friends, of both hemispheres—having received the hospitality of public levees from Mr. Parish and from the French minister, a splendid entertainment on board an American vessel in the harbor, and an address from all the Americans in the city, Lafayette and his companions took leave of Hamburg, and the Austrian domain, on the 10th of October, and passed over into Holstein, a dependancy of the king of Denmark. De Puzy was detained some time at Altona, on matters of business. The rest of the party went on as far as Wittmold, the temporary residence of Madame de Tesse, near the village of Ploen, where accommodations had been provided for them, and where they had the happiness of being welcomed by Madame de Tesse, the aunt, and Madame de Montague, the sister, of Madame Lafayette. About a month after, they took possession of the castle of Lemkhulen, in the near vicinity of Wittmold, where they enjoyed a calm and healthful retirement of nearly two years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

TWO YEARS IN EXILE—RETURN TO FRANCE.

IN their beautiful retreat at Lemkhulen, the prisoners of Olmutz enjoyed a luxury of repose, contrasting powerfully, not more with the gloomy monotony of their long and painful captivity, than with the stormy scenes of revolution and war which preceded it. It was a luxury which they all required, to prepare for the active duties of the future. The family circle of Lafayette was completed by the return of George from America, in February, 1798. He had been two years in the family of Washington, where he had gained the esteem, affection, and confidence, of all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Soon after his return, Anastasie, the eldest daughter, was united in marriage to Charles-Latour-Maubourg, a younger brother of Victor Maubourg, the devoted friend and fellow-prisoner of Lafayette.

As the health of Madame Lafayette improved, so as to justify the experiment, the general promised himself a visit to America; but, in view of the delicate relations of our government with the Directory of France, at that time, involving some questions of serious import, and wearing a threatening aspect, he deemed it prudent to delay, lest the wakeful jealousy of political adversaries should turn the movement to his own disadvantage, or to that of the United States.

In connection with Bureau de Puzy, he employed some

of his leisure hours, in collecting and arranging the incidents of his past life, and especially of his public career, in a manuscript entitled, "Historical Fragments." These papers are of great value, showing, with the force of truth, the acts of the nation, of the king, of parties, of individuals, with brief sketches of their characters, by one who, more than almost any other man, could say, "*Quorum pars, magna fui.*"

By invitation from the government of the Batavian republic (formerly the seven United Provinces, now the kingdom of Holland), in the establishment of whose liberty Lafayette had rendered essential service, in the day of his prosperity and power, he left his retreat at Holstein, in the early part of 1799, and proceeded to Utrecht. Here he could be nearer home, and hold more ready and frequent intercourse with his wife, who had been obliged to go to France, for the settlement of some important family affairs. To accomplish this journey, he was furnished with two passports from Mr. Abema, the Batavian minister at Hamburg—one under the name of Motier, to protect his passage through Hanover, and one under his own proper name, for the states of the republic.

At Utrecht, Lafayette was received with every mark of respect. He felt like a new man, in treading once more the soil of freedom. Writing to Masclet, on the 7th of March, he says: "I have experienced the most lively satisfaction, in finding myself on this side the border. Though the tolerance of Holstein was so comprehensive that even I was not excluded, it was uncomfortable to live under one of those ancient governments which have been declared incompatible with my principles. Here I find good institutions, and good opinions—liberty, civil and religious—the government well disposed, and the governed well informed of their rights and their duties."

His old friends, both Dutch and French, clustered around him, and testified, in the warmest manner, their unchangeable affection and respect. It was earnestly desired by many that he should at once return to France; but the Directory was jealous of his influence, and would not erase his name from the list of the proscribed. Before his release, Lally-Tolendal had proposed, and Archenholtz had seconded the suggestion, that Lafayette was the only man who, by his influence with the National Guards, and with the numerous constitutionalists throughout France, was capable of arresting the horrible massacres of the reign of terror, and that a proper representation to the allied powers would secure his release for this end. But those powers were more afraid of liberty than of anarchy. They sought the re-establishment of the monarchy, rather than the restoration of peace and order. "True," they replied, "Lafayette would, as in 1792, save his and our friends; but he would turn all to the advantage of liberty."

The celebrated Madame de Stael, on the first intimation of Napoleon's purpose to demand his release, wrote to Lafayette, saying: "Come directly to France. There is no other country for you. You will here find the republic which your opinions aspired to, when your conscience bound you to royalty. You are, as a hero, as a martyr, so allied to liberty, that I pronounce her name and yours indifferently, to express all that I desire for the honor and liberty of France."

This was the common sentiment among the true patriots of France; but they, unfortunately, were not in the ascendant. Even Napoleon, while insisting upon his liberation from Olmutz, would gladly have marred the act, by a condition that he should not return to France. With his own hand he added a clause, to that effect, to the stipulations of the Directory. And now, in the same

spirit, General Brune, commander of the French forces near Utrecht, complained to the governments of France and Holland, that his residence there was a grievance, and not to be endured. If the Batavians had shown any sympathy with this narrow jealousy, the noble proscrip't would indeed have found himself in a most serious dilemma. Germany was forbidden ground. Holstein was threatened with an invasion from Russia. The way was not yet clear to America. England, under the administration of Pitt, though she might not forbid him a refuge, could not afford him a hospitable reception. As he said in his letter to Archenholtz, during his early imprisonment at Magdebourg: "To the dangers of an escape from these barriers, guards, and chains, are added those of a flight through the enemy's country, and an asylum. From Constantinople to Lisbon, from Kam-schatka to Amsterdam (for I am not in favor with the house of Orange), only bastiles await me. The forests of the Hurons and the Iroquois are peopled with my friends. The despots of Europe, and their courts, are savages to me. Though I am not beloved at St. James, that is a nation of laws; but I would avoid a country at war with my own."

His friend Bureau de Puzy, having embarked for America, was captured by an English vessel, and detained at Yarmouth. Alluding to this circumstance, he wrote to his wife, playfully, saying, "If I had not a refuge here, I should be compelled to live with the fishes, for all the avenues are closed. . . . If the aerial squadron* makes a good voyage, I shall be tempted to go to America in a balloon."

The revolution was drawing to a close. With the last pulses of the expiring century, the volcano was dy-

* Blanchard, the aeronaut, and Lalande, the astronomer, were about making a public experiment of five balloons in a group.

ing out. The violence of the eruption had exhausted its fury. The convulsion had been terrible. The ruin was widespread and immeasurable; the reaction universal. The cycle of experiment was nearly complete. Power, which had been wrenched from despotism by liberty, from liberty by faction, from faction by anarchy, was stealing back from the many to the few—from the divided, jealous, uncertain few, to the consolidated, despotic one. The old golden chain, that had held France enthralled for ages, had been broken and flung away; but a mighty one of iron, with massive links and bolts, was forging. The kingdom had been demolished to make way, not for liberty, but for a concentrated tyranny—not for a republic, but for the empire. The mild, the gentle, the generous, the upright, the humane Louis XVI., had been sacrificed to make room for the consuming despotism of Napoleon.

The dying throes of anarchy were fearful on account of its very weakness. Doubt, distrust, jealousy, pervaded the high places of the land. The Ancients were jealous of the Council, the Council distrusted the Directory, and the Directory, feared, distrusted, hated both. It was a house divided against itself; it could not stand. It wanted a leader, a responsible head, whose tried integrity and patriotism no one could doubt; but it wanted him to abandon his integrity and patriotism, and work by intrigue. It applied to Lafayette.

It was during his residence at Utrecht, and a little before the dissolution of the old Directory, that Carnot, the president, sent an emissary to confer with Lafayette. He told him that he was soon to be recalled, that it was absolutely necessary he should return to France, and that, in the new movement which was then contemplated, it was desirable that his friends should show themselves.

Carnot had been opposed, in all things, to Lafayette.

The opposition had been personal and bitter, on the part of Carnot ; but he flattered himself that he had, in a measure, cancelled the memory of the past, by the influence he had exerted, as one of the Directory, in forcing open the iron gates of Olmutz.

Lafayette acknowledged his obligations on this point, but had no confidence in the political integrity of the man, who now professed a desire to establish, through him, the liberties of France. "The name of liberty has been so abused," said he, "that my friends will not engage in any movement, without knowing what is proposed, and how it is to be accomplished. They who would return to good principles, will be sure to meet those who have never abandoned them ; and they who would serve liberty and their country by honest means, will always find me ready to co-operate with them. With other than such, I can have no sympathies."

When it was proposed that his name, and those of some of his particular friends, should be erased from the list of the proscribed, he objected to it as equally arbitrary with the original proscription. "It would be more simple and just to recall all the emigrants who are not actually in arms." Objection being made to Lally-Tolendal, "Not only Lally," he replied, "who is a patriot, though a monarchist, but all honest men of his party, whom it is abominable to proscribe—not only those of my friends who, on the 10th of August, shared my fortunes, but the Lameths, whom I do not like, but with whom, in this matter, I make common cause."

Intrigue and political conspiracy were the means by which the ends proposed were to be brought about. To these, Lafayette would not stoop to lend himself. He knew thoroughly the men who intended to go forward, as well as all the great actors then on the stage. He foresaw to what result all the parties, and their endless

intrigues, were tending. He had, as it were, read the horoscope of Napoleon, even before his campaign in Egypt.* “As to Bonaparte,” said he, “he is the constable of the conventional party. He can make himself the master of France. Doubtless it is he to whom Sieyès and his friends are looking. The halo of his glory gives him immense advantages.”

In this state of mingled doubt, fear, and expectation, of plots and counter-plots, when none of the leading men dared openly to avow an opinion, and few were able to maintain one for two days together, Lafayette was full of courage and hope. Writing to Maubourg, he said: “Persuaded that the first means of success is *to dare*, and seeing that everybody was afraid to compromise himself, I have offered to present myself suddenly at Paris, and give the ruling power the alternative to act with me, or to assassinate me. I have offered to take horse with Beurnonville, Lefebvre, and others, and to proclaim and assure liberty in the capital and throughout France—liberty for all, and against all.”

To this magnanimous offer, the only reply was, that it would be throwing away his life for nothing—that he could not succeed. The truth was, they feared he might succeed; and they would not have him with them, except as a co-partner in their schemes, or a tool to execute their purposes of self-aggrandizement. He aimed only at the good of France; and this could be sought for and secured openly, and by means as honorable in

* Lafayette was the original projector of the expedition to Egypt. Had he possessed the grasping ambition of Napoleon, he might have been its fortunate thrice-crowned leader. The project, in his mind, however, was connected with views of humanity, and not of personal aggrandizement, or national glory. His object was to secure to France a field for the cultivation of cotton and sugar, to be carried on by free labor, and thus to aid his grand scheme of African emancipation, and the elevation of the African race.

themselves as the end at which they aimed. It was remarked, with surprise, not only in the royal cabinets of the allied powers, but in that of the Directory, that, since his release from Olmutz, there was nowhere to be seen the least trace of his hand in any of the thousand intrigues which, like a mighty net, entangled the political movements of France and of all Europe.

The revolution went convulsively on. Bonaparte appeared suddenly in Paris. The Directory gave way to the Consulate, with Napoleon at its head. This was in November, 1799, seven weeks before the close of the century. Lafayette had foreseen the change, and was prepared for it. He had measured the ambition of Napoleon, and, notwithstanding the certain demise of anarchy, and the nominal return of the nation to the liberal and safe principles of '89, he felt a chill of distrust and apprehension, from the mystic premonitions of that mighty despotism, which already began to "cast its shadow before." To all it held out the promise, to the short-sighted the hope, of republican liberty. France was in a blaze of joy. The tidings spread rapidly, and the banished and proscribed, in all Europe, hailed it as the signal of their return to the homes of their youth.

When the news reached Utrecht, the commandant of the city, recognising, amid the general rejoicing, the principles on which this new revolution was based, and the true source from which they sprung, gave out for the password, in the orders of the day, "*Liberty, Paris, and Lafayette.*" Romeuf, the indefatigable aide, the devoted friend, followed on the wings of the same wind that wafted these tidings, bearing a passport to his general, under a feigned name, with a message from his wife, advising that, if he proposed returning to France, he should do it without delay. Two hours after, he was on

the road to Paris, accompanied by his son and the gallant Romeuf.

Immediately on his arrival at the capital, he threw off his disguise, and wrote to the consuls, announcing his return, and demanding to be restored to his rights as a French citizen. To Napoleon he wrote thus: "From the day when the prisoners of Olmutz owed their liberty to you, to this, when the liberty of my country lays me under still greater obligations to you, I have thought that the continuance of my proscription was not expedient for the government, or for myself. Accordingly, I am now in Paris. Before going into the country, where I shall meet my family—before even seeing my friends here, I delay not a moment to address myself to you; not that I doubt that I am in my appropriate place, wherever the republic is founded upon worthy bases, but because both my duty and my feelings prompt me to bear to you in person the expression of my gratitude."

This note was delivered by General Clarke. Bonaparte was disconcerted and displeased. He had been outgeneralled by the boldness and frankness of Lafayette. He had supposed that the proscribed patriot would remain in exile, and make a formal application to be restored to his rights, which, under various diplomatic pretexts, he could delay or deny, as long as it should suit his pleasure to do so. He did not desire his presence in France. He feared his popularity, and the constancy of his principles, which were proof alike against corruption and fear. There was probably no one of the absentees who would not have been more cordially welcomed by the first consul than Lafayette. But he was taken by surprise. He could not complain or resist, for he had just made a public profession of those principles which Lafayette had always acknowledged, and in accordance with which he should have been instantly re-

called. "We will have the republic. We will have it founded on genuine liberty — on the representative system. We will have it. I swear in my own name, and in the name of my companions-in-arms."

The plausible, omniform intriguer, Talleyrand, busied himself in the matter. Seeking an interview with Lafayette, he depicted the rage of the consul at his audacious return, threatened him with violent measures, besought him not to expose his friends to destroy themselves by taking his part, and concluded by urging him to return immediately to Holland.

With heroic dignity and self-respect, he assured his adviser that he would not compromise any one in his movements; that, having judged it expedient to return to France, it was now for the consul to judge if it was expedient to let him remain there in peace; and, that the only effect of an imperious and menacing tone would be, to confirm him in the course he had taken. Talleyrand continued to press his solicitations, by various motives, till after midnight, but without effect. As Lafayette retired, with his friend Romeuf, he observed to the supple courtier, "What a fine joke it would be, if I should be arrested at night by the National Guard of Paris, and placed in the temple, the next day, by the restorer of the principles of '89!"

That no one might be compromitted by his relations with the government, Lafayette commissioned his wife to make the necessary explanations with the consuls. She was graciously received by Bonaparte, who represented to her, without clearly explaining his meaning, that the arrival of her husband would check his own efforts for the re-establishment of the principles of liberty — that he should be obliged "to take in sail." "*You* can not understand me, madame," said he, "but General Lafayette will understand me. I conjure him to avoid

all publicity. I put it to his patriotism." She replied, that it had always been his intention to retire into the bosom of his family. The consul left her, to attend a meeting of the council, where he was observed to be in a very bad humor.

Lafayette did understand the consul fully, but not as the consul intended he should. Napoleon had not yet reached the position where even he would venture to lay a rude hand upon Lafayette. His strides to despotic power were gigantic; but he had a few more to take, before he could feel secure in placing his iron heel upon the neck of even a proscribed patriot. He must put on the cap of liberty, to blind the eyes of the people, till the dictator's rod and the imperial crown were made ready.

Other efforts were made to induce Lafayette to return to exile in Holland, or to embark for America, without any promise that his name would be erased from the black-list of the government. Talleyrand was the chief mover in these attempts, and Volney was one of his emissaries. Lafayette simply replied, that he made no account of the menaces of Bonaparte; that, having seized the moment when the liberal professions of the government rendered his return decent, and having removed the principal obstacles to the return of his friends, he should retire to the country, as a private citizen, and await the act of justice which should restore him to his rights as such.

The dignity of his deportment on this occasion, and the unimpeachable purity of his patriotism, completely foiled his adversaries. Bonaparte was deeply incensed, to find himself checkmated in a game for which he thought he had prepared himself more than two years before, when he made his first move by inserting, in the preliminaries of the treaty of Leoben, a proviso of perpetual banishment from France for the prisoners of Ol-

mutz. But Bonaparte was not yet crowned. He was a mere military politician, though an unusually bold one. He did not dare openly to confirm and execute the decree of proscription. He adopted the more prudent course of absolute silence. He wished, if possible, to consign to oblivion the man whom he dared not destroy or even to oppress. A very remarkable instance of this course of proceeding was exhibited in the early part of February, 1800, when funeral services, in honor of General Washington, were solemnized in Paris. Fontanes delivered the eulogy, but under a strict injunction, from the consul, that Lafayette should not be named or alluded to in the discourse. No member of his family was invited to attend the ceremony, nor any of the Americans in Paris. The journals of the day, in noticing the proceedings, make no mention of any American being present, but severely censure the orator for having forgotten the heroes of the United States, to pay court to the hero of Egypt. The bust of Washington was draped on the occasion, not with the flag of free America and of the republics of Europe, but with the standards taken by Napoleon in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The first consul was installed at the Tuileries on the very day when Fontanes' pseudo-eulogy was published.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HIS RELATIONS WITH NAPOLEON — TWELVE YEARS' RETIREMENT AT LAGRANGE.

WHEN the new constitution was presented by the consuls for the acceptance of the people, the name of Lafayette was yet on the list of the proscribed. He was consequently unable to vote. Had he possessed the right, he would have voted against an instrument which, to use his own words, "sacrificed the guaranties of liberty to those of self-love." He was, therefore, more than ever an object of jealousy to the ruling power, and much diplomacy was employed to get him out of the way. But, regardless of intrigues and menaces, he remained in Paris till he had secured the restoration of the rights of citizenship to himself, his comrades, and some of his family friends. The former was accomplished by a decree of the 1st of March, 1800. During the pendency of this question, he had no interview with Napoleon.

These remarkable men perfectly understood each other's character and aims. Lafayette admired the genius, and was fascinated with the military glory of Napoleon; but he was sensible of his towering ambition, and had no confidence in his moral principles. Napoleon respected and admired the consistency, firmness, and purity of Lafayette, while he feared and hated him for these very qualities. He knew that he could not be intimidated, and therefore he feared him; he knew that

he could not be bought, and therefore he hated him. "Nobody in the world," said he to one of his generals, "is so hated by the enemies of liberty, and of France, as Lafayette. I, who negotiated his deliverance, well know what price the foreign powers placed upon his detention." As a tyrant, as the arch-enemy of liberty in France, Napoleon shared and manifested the same feeling. When a general call was made upon all good citizens to press into the volunteer service, to repel invasion, a proposal was made to engage Lafayette in the work, and use the influence of his name. "Yes," replied Napoleon, "he would aid us in this; but, in other things, he might be in our way." On the eve of the battle of Marengo, which was preceded by reverses to the French arms in Italy, and in reference to which there were great apprehensions for Napoleon, Lafayette wrote a letter to the general, and gave it in charge to his son, George Washington, a volunteer in the regiment of hussars, asking permission, in case of defeat, to join the army as a volunteer. The letter was not to be delivered till after the battle. Napoleon was victorious, as usual, and therefore did not receive it; but the fact of the offer it contained was made known to him by some of his officers. It affected him sensibly. "Which of *you*, gentlemen," said he, turning to the generals about him, "could have done better than that?"

Of this victory, and the man who achieved it, Lafayette spoke thus: "It is clear that Bonaparte was there, as everywhere else, the great captain. That which is especially admirable, and indeed the most beautiful act of his life, is his noble abandonment of the central post at Paris, where he was scarcely yet established, to climb the Alps and gain the battles of France; a greatness, the glory of which belongs to him alone, and which has always so excited me, that I am even now indignant to

think that the same man could believe that an imperial robe would add to his greatness."

Having regained his rights as a citizen, he sought an interview with Napoleon. He was presented, by Consul Lebrun, at the Tuileries. Bonaparte received him with an air of frankness and courtesy, reminding him, to use his own words, "of the cordial welcome he had formerly received from Frederick the Great." After the usual compliments on both sides, he replied to felicitations upon his success in Italy, by giving the credit of that success chiefly to Moreau. Then, speaking of the foreign powers, he added, with a very gracious smile, "I do not know what you have done to them, but they had extreme reluctance to let you go."

He was soon after introduced to Joseph Bonaparte, who met him with great cordiality and politeness, complimented him upon the events of his early life, and invited him to a *fête* he was about to give to the commissioners, who had just concluded a treaty of amity with the United States. There he met with old friends and old associations, and was the object of universal regard. The American ministers, his old colleagues in the National Assembly, his comrades of the National Guard and of the army, the new generals of the last revolution, the first consul, and all the Bonaparte family, were present at this festival. Lafayette, as usual, was manly and undisguised in the expression of his views. In a private conversation with the first consul, he freely advocated the claims of liberty and of France, and set forth the true course of glory for him who would guide her destinies.

"I find the French people," said Napoleon, "are growing cool with respect to liberty."

"Yes," replied Lafayette; "but they are in a condition to receive it."

"They are pretty well surfeited," rejoined the consul. "You, Parisians, for example. Oh! the shop-keepers want no more of it."

"They are in a condition to receive it," repeated his guest, with emphasis; adding, "I do not use that expression lightly, general; I am aware of the crimes and follies which have profaned the name of liberty; but the French are more than ever, perhaps, in a condition to receive it. It is for you to bestow it. It is for you that we wait."

The consul then spoke, without reserve, of the military and political interests of France, of the intrigues of the royalists, and of the co-operation of extreme parties to the same result, in which he exhibited "a simplicity of genius, depth of intellect, and quickness of observation," which surprised and gratified his companion. In reply to an allusion from the consul to his campaigns in America, Lafayette exclaimed, "The grandest interests of the universe were decided in that contest." He then spoke of the idea of some of the American politicians to make, for the United States, a presidency for life. The consul's eyes flashed at the suggestion. Lafayette added, "That, with a national representation and suitable checks, would be just the thing for France." The consul regarded him with fixed attention, while he proceeded to give him some details respecting the chief magistracy of the United States, the duties of which were discharged without guards or military pageant; to which he replied, "But you will agree that, in France, this would not do." At this interview, Lafayette solicited and obtained the erasure, from the black list, of the names of his aged relatives, M. and Madame de Tesse.

Napoleon often alluded to the peculiar personal hatred of the kings and cabinets of Europe to the name of Lafayette. "I am sufficiently hated," said he, "by the

princes and their courtiers; but it is nothing to their hatred for you. I have been so situated as to see it, and I could not have believed that human hatred could go so far." He then added, "How is it possible that the republicans could be so foolish as to suppose that their cause could be separated from yours? But now they do you justice — yes, complete justice."

"General Lafayette," said he at another time, "you have overturned the strongest monarchy that existed. Behold all the monarchies of Europe! Ours was the best constituted. It was a beautiful and a difficult enterprise; but you committed a great fault, in wishing to preserve, in such a revolution, the ancient dynasty; for, if you refused it absolute power, the government could not go on; if you granted it, it would be employed against you. The problem was incapable of solution." Lafayette replied, "It is certainly soothing to my self-love, to find that you regard as insoluble the problem on which we have been wrecked. But the public will, in which we found at once our means and our duties, equally demanded all the elements of a democratic republic, and the preservation of the king. It demanded a Bourbon; it demanded Louis XVI. It was this that produced the constitutional amalgam of '91. It was by no means perfect, but it commanded, for the time, the confidence of the nation; and that, sir, is the mainspring, the only sure foundation, of all political institutions." To this the consul assented, and at the same time acknowledged, that if the Jacobin proscription of the first chiefs, and the first principles of the revolution, had not, in 1792, arrested the general movement, which the coalition of the emigrants and the kings only served to accelerate, all Europe would in ten years have been imbued with the doctrines of the "Declaration of Rights."

On the opening of the senate by Napoleon, Lafayette

was nominated as a member. His acceptance of the seat, so honorable and so attractive, was strongly desired and solicited by some of the most prominent of the republican party, his old colleagues of the Gironde; to whom he replied, that, having refused to the Jacobins the sanction of his silence, when his command of the army was at stake, he could not accord the tacit approbation of his co-operation to the measures then in progress.

At the same time, he was urgently solicited to accept an embassy to the United States, with the assurance that his compliance would be most agreeable to the head of the government. His characteristic reply was, that "he was too much an American to be able to act the part of a stranger there." The matter was urged upon him from several quarters; but he could not reconcile his personal relations to America, and his American feelings, with the coldness and distance of a diplomatic functionary. He could not be a foreigner, much less the watchful representative of a foreign government, in Washington. He was a citizen both of the United States and of France, and he could no more denationalize himself in one country than in the other.

Unsuccessful in securing this object, the consul, through his supple instrument, Talleyrand, renewed his request that Lafayette would accept a place in the senate; to which he jocosely objected, that, if he went there, he should be under obligations at once to denounce the government and its chief. General Dumas soon after waited on him, by order of the first consul, to ask an explanation of the attitude of censure, if not of hostility, which he had assumed. "No one likes to be regarded as a tyrant," said Napoleon to Dumas; "Lafayette seems to consider me one."—"The silence of my retirement," replied Lafayette, "is the maximum of

my submission. If Bonaparte had wished to serve the cause of liberty, I would have been wholly devoted to him ; but I can neither approve of an arbitrary government, nor take any part in it." In accordance with this sentiment, firmly and repeatedly declared, he refused numerous other solicitations to take part in the councils of the government, even in the humblest and most unimportant station. To the minister who waited on him to request his acceptance of a place in the council of the department of Seine and Marne, he replied, that he should be like the obstinate boy at school, who refused to say *a*, through fear that he should afterward be obliged to say *b*. He afterward, however, accepted the office of departmental elector of that department, because the preservation of the right of election was the result of popular suffrage.

It was matter of no little uneasiness with Bonaparte, that, in restoring Lafayette to his rights as a French citizen, he restored him, also, to his rank in the army. It was to withdraw him from this, that he proposed to elevate him to the senate. "You have yet too much love of activity," said he, "to wish to be a senator."—"It is not that," replied the general ; "but I feel that retirement would suit me better." Having added to this, that he wished also to retire from the army, the consul evinced great satisfaction, and accorded to him at once all that was due to a retired officer of the highest grade.

In 1802, Lord Cornwallis was commissioned, on the part of the government of England, to negotiate a treaty with France. Lafayette was invited to dine with him, at the house of Joseph Bonaparte. The tendency of the new government was sufficiently apparent to the British minister, who was somewhat sarcastic, in relation to it, in his conversations with Lafayette. The next time they met, Napoleon exclaimed, "Lord Cornwallis pre-

tends that you are not yet corrected.” — “Of what?” demanded Lafayette — “of my love of liberty? What should disgust me with that? The extravagances and crimes of terrorist tyranny have only served to make me hate more heartily every arbitrary régime, and attach myself more strongly to my principles.” — “But you have spoken to him of our affairs,” said the consul, somewhat sternly. “No one is farther than myself,” replied the general, “from seeking a foreign ambassador to censure what is passing in my own country; but if he ask me if this is liberty, I must answer, No.” — “I must say to you, General Lafayette,” said the embryo despot, seriously, “and I perceive it with pain, that, by your manner of speaking of the acts of the government, you give its enemies the weight of your name.” — “What more can I do?” urged the uncompromising republican. “I live in the country, in retirement. I avoid, as far as I can, occasions of speaking of public affairs; but when any one demands of me if your administration of the government is conformable to my ideas of liberty, I shall say that it is not. I wish to be prudent; but I can not be false.”

In this bold and decided opposition to the arbitrary rule of Napoleon, there was no jealousy, no ambition for himself, no personal dislike to the man whom he opposed. This was seen and felt by the consul. “What do you mean by an arbitrary régime?” he demanded. “I allude not to this or that particular act,” was the reply, “but to the tendency of all. It is this tendency, general — yes, it is this only, that pains and afflicts me. A free government, and you at the head of it, would satisfy me perfectly.” But this did not satisfy the ambition of the first consul, nor the subserviency of his parasites. He demanded, and obtained, the consulship for life. Called upon to vote on this question, Lafayette thus

protested in writing : " I can not vote for such a magistracy, until public liberty has been sufficiently guaranteed ; then I will give my vote to Napoleon Bonaparte." That his position might be fully understood, he at the same time addressed the first consul, dated, " Lagrange, May 20, 1802," in which he declared that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see him the chief magistrate for life of a free republic. " That," said he, " would be the climax of your glory ; but it is in unison with my principles, my engagements, the actions of my whole life, to ascertain, before I vote, that liberty is established on bases worthy of the nation and of you."

To this letter, so frank, so manly, so courteous, and, to a noble mind, so flattering, Bonaparte made no reply. He could not reply, without retracing his steps, or quarrelling with the writer. The former he would not do ; the latter he was not then in a position to do with safety. From this time, all intercourse between the two was suspended for twelve years. They did not meet again, till after the reverses of the emperor in 1814.

In the division of the property of the duchess d'Ayen, Lagrange, a beautiful estate in the department of Seine and Marne, about forty miles east of Paris, fell to the share of Madame Lafayette. The old estate of Chavagniac had been very much reduced by the confiscations of the reign of terror. Lagrange had been preserved entire, and, by a decree of the new government, was now restored to its original owners. From this time, it became the permanent residence of the family. It comprises nearly a thousand acres, beautifully distributed into wood, lawn, and tillage. The château was an old baronial castle, with towers, and moats, and draw-bridge, and all the obsolete appointments of a feudal fortress. Traces of these are visible on every side, though

the baronial manor is reduced to a simple farm, and the castle to a gentleman's country-seat.

In the bosom of this quiet and romantic retreat, the hero and patriarch sought repose from the toils, perils, and honors, of an arduous public life. But full repose is seldom found on earth. His was disturbed, first, by a serious accident to himself, which occasioned him intense suffering for a time, and left him a cripple for life, and, not long afterward, by the severest of all domestic afflictions. After the establishment of peace in 1802, Paris was visited by some of the most distinguished of the British whigs, among whom were Fox, Fitzpatrick, Adair, Erskine, and Lords Holland and Lauderdale. Some of them came expressly to see Lafayette, and he went up to the metropolis to meet them. While there, he accidentally fell upon the pavement, and broke his thigh-bone, just below the neck of the hip-joint. The surgeons, in reducing the fracture, enclosed the limb in a wooden frame, in which, under severe pressure from bandages above and below, it was confined more than two weeks, without change or relief. Confiding in the skill of the surgeons, the patient had borne the pain and inconvenience without a word of complaint. When, at length, an examination was made, the limb was found to be in a most alarming condition. The upper bandages had cut into the muscles, on the inside of the thigh, so as to lay bare the femoral artery; the lower ones had produced mortification about the heel, and laid bare the tendons of the toes. The fortitude with which this severe operation was endured, entirely deceived the surgeons, leading them to suppose that all was going on well. The issue was a tedious confinement of six months, followed by a permanent lameness of the hip-joint.

In December, 1807, Lafayette, and the family at La-

grange, were visited by the most painful bereavement which it was possible for the heart to endure. Madame Lafayette, who, in the language of Segur, "was a model of heroism, and, indeed, of every virtue, contracted, during her captivity, the disorder which, after years of suffering, terminated her life. She died, surrounded by a numerous family, who offered up earnest prayers for her preservation. When unable to speak, a smile played upon her lips at the sight of her husband and children. Devoted to her domestic duties, which were her only pleasure—adorned by every virtue—pious, modest, charitable, severe to herself, indulgent to others—she was one of the few whose pure reputation received fresh lustre from the misfortunes of the revolution."

The attachment of Lafayette to the wife of his youth was of the purest and most enduring character. It had never been clouded or marred by the slightest shadow of distrust, or any other sinister influence. To perfect respect and confidence, were added the most perfect sympathy, and the tenderest regard. And he, who had never bowed to sorrow, or shrunk from danger, calamity, or suffering, was now smitten to the earth. "I willingly admit," said he, in a letter responding to the tender condolence of Masclet, "that, under great misfortunes, I have felt myself superior to the situation in which my friends had the kindness to sympathize. But, at present, I have neither the power nor the wish to struggle against the calamity which has befallen me, or, rather, to surmount the deep affliction which I shall carry with me to the grave. It will be mingled with the sweetest recollections of the thirty-four years, during which I was bound by the tenderest ties that, perhaps, ever existed, and with thoughts of her last moments, in which she heaped upon me such proofs of her incomparable affection."

These were not words merely. They told truly the story of that great man's love, and of the long widowhood which was to bear testimony to its truth. Nearly thirty years he continued to cherish the memory, and recall the virtues, of the departed. Her private apartment was ever after held sacred, and preserved in the same state as when she died; and thither her bereaved partner daily repaired, alone, or in company with his children, to renew his homage to her memory. Her portrait, in a small gold medallion, he always wore suspended to his neck, and was more than once surprised, by his intimate friends, gazing upon it with intense and abstracted emotion. Around the portrait were the words, "I am yours." On the reverse was a touching inscription, in which the departed one, anticipating the inevitable separation, appeals to the beautiful past, when the portrait was taken, for the assurance that her image should never be lost, till the heart on which it was engraven should cease to beat. It was, "I was then a gentle companion to you! In that case——bless me."

The character of Marie Adrienne Française Noailles de Lafayette was combined of all that is admirable in female heroism, and lovely in female gentleness, piety, and truth. While the greater part of the wives of the French refugees and exiles, who remained in France during the reign of terror, went through the formality of a feigned divorce, and changed their names, to save their lives and estates, Madame Lafayette steadfastly refused to separate herself and fortunes from those of her husband. In her petitions and remonstrances to the reigning powers, she always commenced with this form: "*La femme Lafayette.*" She wished only to be recognised as his wife. She never suffered an aspersion upon his character to pass without repelling it, nor an opportunity to manifest his principles, without honor-

ing them, and declaring that she held them in common with him.

Madame Lafayette was truly pious. Her husband, though nominally a Roman catholic, and an admirer of the exalted principles of Christianity, was a philosopher of the French school. She often expressed to him the hope that, in reflecting further, with that honesty of soul for which he was distinguished, he would yet be convinced of the truth. She was wont to speak of religion as "the sovereign liberty," hoping thus to attract to it his regards, and often, for the same purpose, quoted the words of Fauchet, "Jesus Christ, my only master." She sometimes, in the delirium of her last moments, expressed the thought that she was going to heaven, but seemed not satisfied to go without him. "This life is short and troubled," she would say; "we reunite in God; we pass eternity together." She was often engaged in prayer; and her last desire for her husband was, that he might possess "the peace of God." She died at the age of forty-eight.

While Napoleon was advancing from victory to victory—from Marengo to Moscow—and, with yet more rapid and appalling strides, from disaster at Moscow to irretrievable discomfiture at Leipsic, and an ignoble capitulation at the gates of Paris, Lafayette was enjoying the *otium cum dignitate* of a retirement, as congenial to his tastes as it was honorable to his patriotism. He had too much confidence in the principles of liberty, to doubt their ultimate prevalence. He had too much confidence in his countrymen, to believe that they would long submit to a military despotism. He calmly awaited its inevitable overthrow, and the return of the people to the recognition of their natural and inalienable rights.

Meanwhile, his position was not without its perils.

He was a political anomaly in France—a citizen, not suspected, but known to be cordially and unchangeably opposed to the imperial dynasty, and to all the forms and principles of the existing government. He was an object of hatred and fear to Napoleon—of hatred, because, while he obeyed the laws as a good citizen, he never, by word or act, consented to the arbitrary régime of the despot—of fear, because his republican integrity was alike incorruptible by the threats and the promises of the throne, and by the intrigues of its factious opponents. His name was more than once maliciously involved with the intrigues and conspiracies of mere adventurers, who, without means or reason, attempted to overthrow the government. The brave Malet suffered death for this cause, in October, 1808; and it was on this occasion that Napoleon flattered himself that Lafayette was too surely involved to escape. The conspirators, however, denied all connexion with him. Malet not only shielded his colleagues, but refused even to defend himself, saying to the tribunal, when he was summoned to answer, “The defender of the rights of his country has no need of a defence—he triumphs, or he dies.”

Though many perished in this way, at different times, while Lafayette, by his perfect frankness and fearlessness, remained unharmed, he was the only man whom the tyrant truly and always feared. “Gentlemen,” said he to the council of state, on an occasion when the re-establishment of the National Guards was under discussion, “I know your devotion to the power of the throne. Everybody in France is corrected. I know of one man only who is not so—Lafayette. He has never drawn back a hair-breadth. You see him always quiet and calm; but, I tell you, even now he is ready to begin again.”—“Your existence,” said Bernadotte to Lafayette, “is truly miraculous. Your peril was even less

from the character of the emperor, than from the bitterness of the men of the ancient régime, who irritated him against you."

Napoleon fell, the idol still of the army, but not of the people, who were heartily weary of imperial rule, with all its costly burden of glory and war. The allied sovereigns entered Paris, with their victorious armies, to restore the constitutional monarchy, and the ancient dynasty of the Bourbons, in the person of Louis XVIII. This, under different circumstances, and accompanied with suitable guaranties, would have realized the long-delayed hopes of Lafayette; but, forced upon the nation as it was, by foreign dictation, and sustained by foreign bayonets, it was scarcely more acceptable than the absolute despotism of Napoleon. He would gladly have taken up arms, to repel the aggressors, and to vindicate the right of France to frame her own government, and choose her own rulers; but his close retirement, and his long absence from the arena of public affairs, left him without resources or influence to resist this new revolution.

Louis XVIII. was scarcely eleven months in possession of his throne. It was a period of agitation, discontent, and doubt, portending another eruption. Lafayette took no part in public affairs. The constitutional monarchy would have been acceptable to him, had it been the free choice of independent France; but, constrained as it was, it failed to secure either his sympathy or his confidence. He went only once to Paris during that year. He was then presented at court, and was cordially received by the king; but, having nothing to ask from royalty, and seeing nothing to hope for France, he returned to his farm, and to the quiet pursuits of husbandry.

Suddenly the comet, in its eccentric orbit, reappears

in the horizon. Napoleon is at Cannes. The gates of Grenoble, of Lyons, of Paris, fly open at his coming. He stands again in the capital. The Bourbons fly; the nation gathers at the feet of the conqueror. All France lifts up the shout, and the heavens reverberate it to the ends of the earth, "*Vive l'empereur !*" "The hundred days" have begun.

Bonaparte knew and acknowledged that his exile had been the result of the progress of liberal opinions. He therefore proposed to make some concessions to the constitutional party, and conciliate the sentiment of liberty, which still glowed in the bosom of the nation. For this end, his brother Joseph sought an interview with Lafayette, and endeavored to inspire him with confidence in this new position of the emperor, fortifying his purpose by an appeal to his patriotic pride, which should resist the dictation of an invading foe. Lafayette responded, at once and heartily, to this last appeal, avowing himself always ready to take up arms against any foreign power that should touch the soil of France. At the same time, he frankly acknowledged that he had no faith in the promises of Napoleon, and demanded the pledge of a written constitution, to guaranty the liberties of the people. He refused a seat in the chamber of peers, against the restoration of which he protested, but was elected a representative of the people.

As he anticipated, the concessions of Napoleon fell far short of the demands of the nation. They were altogether unsatisfactory. The throne overshadowed all other powers, and rendered them only subservient to one iron will. Lafayette was driven to opposition. He insisted upon the formation of a new constitution. He demanded that the assembly should assume an attitude capable of inspiring confidence, both at home and abroad, and that its members should show, at once and decidedly,

whether they were the representatives of the French people, or simply *the Napoleon club*.

Meanwhile, the congress of Vienna had declared Napoleon an outlaw. The trumpet sounded loud and long on every side, and the banded hosts of Europe mustered to battle. To every measure of defence against the threatened invasion—to every demand of the emperor to meet this crisis of his fate, Lafayette gave his cordial and decided support. He pressed earnestly the reorganization of the National Guards. But Napoleon was afraid of the free spirit of citizen-soldiers; he required an army of conscripts, and it was granted. At the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, he went forth to meet the invaders.

In a few days he returned, a fugitive and alone, but not in despair. Resolved on one desperate effort more to retrieve his fortunes, he purposed to sweep away the fabric he had begun to raise, dissolve the assembly, assume the dictatorship, and levy the whole nation in one vast army of resistance. Forewarned of this intention, Lafayette seized the first moment of their meeting, on the following morning, to sound the alarm.

“The moment has arrived,” he said, “for rallying round the old tri-colored standard, the standard of 1789, of liberty, equality, and public order. It is that standard alone which we have to defend against foreign pretensions and internal intrigues.” He then proposed that the chamber should declare itself permanent, that every attempt to dissolve it should be adjudged high treason, and that the National Guards should be immediately reorganized. These resolutions were adopted without discussion, and the last grand move of Napoleon was frustrated.

A secret session was held in the evening, at which it was proposed that Napoleon should abdicate. His broth-

er Lucien, who was present, powerfully and eloquently vindicated the claims of the emperor, throwing out, in the heat of the moment, a sneering allusion to the volatile and inconstant character of the French people. Lafayette sprang to his feet, and, without moving from his place, or losing, in his indignation, his wonted composure and dignity, exclaimed, "That is a calumnious assertion. Who shall dare accuse Frenchmen of fickleness or inconstancy, with respect to the Emperor Napoleon? Did they not follow him over the sands of Egypt, and through the deserts of Russia, over fifty fields of battle, in his disasters as well as in his victories? And it is for having thus followed him, that they have to regret the blood of three millions of their countrymen."

Lucien bowed, but ventured no reply. His sneer was triumphantly refuted. The whole assembly seconded the just rebuke, deeply convinced that their first duty was to secure the safety of France, and that the claims of the fallen emperor were secondary to that. "Go," said Lafayette to Lucien, "tell your brother that we can trust him no longer. We will take care of the country ourselves."

Napoleon, having been informed of the proceedings of the assembly, summoned a council of the principal officers of state, including the vice-presidents of the assembly, of whom Lafayette was one, and demanded what should be done. The council was divided in opinion, as hope, or fear, or interest, swayed its members. Lafayette was open, clear, and decided, declaring that unqualified abdication was the only safe course for the emperor and for France.

The council was dissolved. Napoleon hesitated; but, the next morning, sent in a formal abdication in favor of his son. The assembly accepted the abdication, but took no notice of the condition attached to it. A deputation,

with Lafayette at its head, was immediately appointed to convey to him the thanks of the assembly for this act of patriotic self-sacrifice. "It was an imposing spectacle," says Lafayette — "these nine representatives of the people, armed only with the respect due to a National Assembly, coming to announce to him who, having subdued all the sovereigns of Europe, still commanded the French army—to his guard, and to an immense host of partisans in the faubourgs—that he was no longer emperor, and that the nation resumed the government." "The hundred days" were ended.

A provisional government was established, consisting of a council of five—two from the chamber of peers, and three from that of the deputies. By the intrigues of the Bonapartists on the one hand, and the Bourbonists on the other, Lafayette was excluded. Fouché, a Bourbonist, was made president, and Lafayette was placed at the head of a commission to treat with the allied powers. This was only a *ruse* to remove him from Paris, where his presence and influence would have greatly hindered, and perhaps wholly defeated, the intrigues of Talleyrand, Fouché, and their fellow-conspirators, who had already secretly bargained for a second restoration of the Bourbons.

The conference took place at Haguenau. The commissioners demanded a suspension of hostilities, urging that Napoleon, who was the sole cause of the war, was now only a private citizen, under the surveillance of the government. Lord Stewart, the English ambassador, interposed many obstacles to the negotiation, and finally defeated it. At one of their conferences, he said, addressing himself to Lafayette, "I am bound to advise you, sir, that a peace with the allied powers is impossible, except on the condition that you deliver over to us the person of Bonaparte." — "I am exceedingly aston-

ished," replied Lafayette, with emphatic emotion, "that, in making so odious a proposition, you should have addressed yourself to one of the prisoners of Olmutz." His lordship then objected to the legitimacy of the assembly, under whose authority they acted, since it was convoked by the order of Napoleon; to which Lafayette replied, that "it was strange enough, that a public man from representative England should intimate a doubt that the authority of a national assembly is derived rather from those who elect, than from him who convokes it."

Lord Stewart withdrew from the conference. The negotiations were abruptly broken off. The commissioners returned to Paris, where, to their surprise and chagrin, they found the capitulation concluded, the army withdrawn to the Loire, and the gates of the capital about to be thrown open to the allies.

On the 8th of July, the deputies found the hall of session closed against them, and the order was proclaimed, that no one should enter. Lafayette demanded if it was the order of the prince regent of England; and then, raising his voice to its utmost pitch, invited the members to meet at his house. The invitation was accepted; but an adjournment to the house of the president was immediately voted. Two hundred members were present at this session. A spirited protest was adopted, and signed by every one present. But it was all in vain. Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris the same day, supported against his own people, by a million of foreign bayonets; and the tri-colored standard of liberty everywhere gave place to the white flag of the Bourbons.

Four years of retirement at Lagrange succeeded the stormy period of the second restoration, after which Lafayette was called again to serve as a deputy for La Sarthe and Meaux. Here, as he had always done, he

contended manfully for the rights of the people, resisting, step by step, the insidious encroachments of the crown. His boldness and freedom of speech became more and more offensive, as the government advanced toward those despotic measures which ultimately caused its overthrow. Many attempts were made to displace him from his seat. At length, in 1823, he was publicly charged with *treason* by the king's attorney. His colleagues, who were implicated with him, demanded a trial. It was on this occasion that Lafitté applied to the attorney the merited epithet of *purveyor to the guillotine*. Lafayette, disdaining to deny the charge, mounted the tribune and said :—

“ In spite of my habitual indifference to party accusations and animosities, I still think myself bound to add a few words to what had fallen from my honorable friend. During the whole course of a life entirely devoted to liberty, I have constantly been an object of attack to the enemies of that cause, under whatever form, despotic, aristocratic, or anarchic, they have endeavored to combat it. I do not complain, then, because I observe some affectation in the use of the word *proved*, which the procureur-general has employed against me ; but I join my honored friends in demanding a public inquiry, within the walls of this chamber, and in the face of the nation. Then, I and my adversaries, to whatever rank they belong, may declare, without reserve, all that we have mutually had to reproach each other with, for the last thirty years.”

From this open challenge his accusers recoiled. The accusation was dropped ; but, by intrigue and bribery, the ministers succeeded in defeating his re-election, and he returned once more to Lagrange, with the hope that his domestic retirement would never again be disturbed by a call to the arena of political strife.

CHAPTER XXV.

LAST VISIT TO AMERICA, IN 1824.

THE patriarch of liberty was approaching the close of his career. He had almost reached his threescore years and ten. In a long life of uncommon activity, and world-wide usefulness, he had almost filled up the measure of his glory and his duty. The two great fields of his labors, America and France—how different the result of their struggles! The latter, after thirty years of conflict and suffering, of herculean effort and gigantic convulsion, was scarcely nearer to the goal than when she started in the race. The former, established, consolidated, had grown, in half a century, to the stature and strength of a giant; and in her vigorous onward march, had calmly taken her place of lofty independence and growing prosperity and power, among the nations. America had been his early love. To her he devoted the first efforts of his youth—for her he spilled the first drop of his blood. In all his toils and trials, in all his hopes and fears, in all his joys and sorrows, he had turned to her with the pride and exultation of a child, and with the consoling assurance that all his labors and sacrifices had not been in vain. He had long wished to revisit her shores, and to see, with his own eyes, the evidences of her growing wealth and power. And he now resolved to gratify that wish.

His purpose becoming known on this side the Atlantic, the president of the United States addressed him a letter, inviting him, in the most cordial terms, to come, and placed a frigate at his disposal, at any time when he should be ready to embark. Respectfully declining the offer of a public vessel, he took passage in the *Cadmus*, an American merchantman, accompanied only by his son, George Washington, and his secretary, Mr. Levasseur. He sailed from Havre on the 12th of July, 1824, and arrived at New York on the 15th of August.

Once more on American soil. And what a change! Forty years had elapsed since he was last here. A whole generation had passed away. The thirteen independent states had become twenty-four. Three millions of people had become twelve millions. And every element of power, and greatness, and happiness, had increased in the same proportion. It was more like a magnificent vision than a living reality.

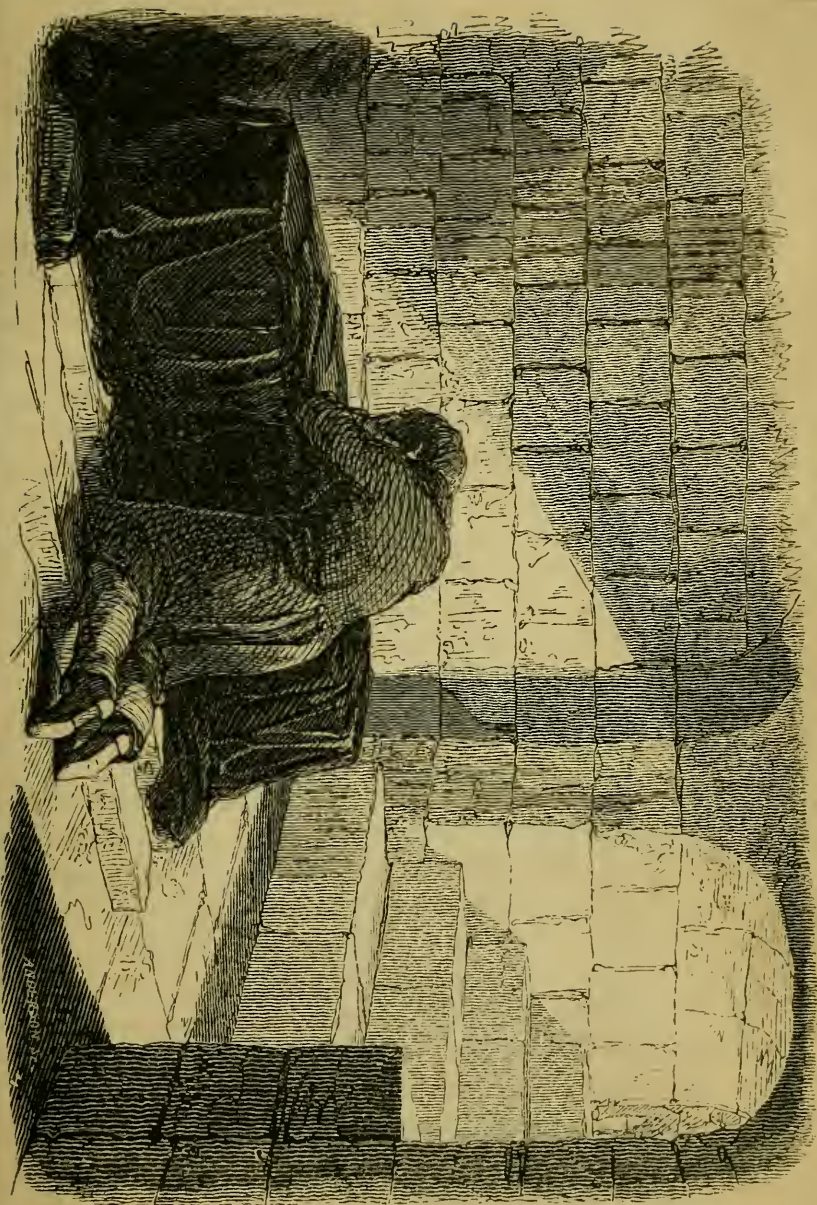
To describe the brilliant parades, the triumphal processions, the costly fêtes, the balls, the parties, which made his long and rapid journey an uninterrupted gala day of excitement and display, would be to repeat a thousand times, with variations, the same gorgeous and imposing scene. To recite all the fine speeches, or even to relate all the interesting incidents of his triumphant tour, would require a volume. A few of the most prominent, with a small selection from the incidents by the way, must suffice for the present purpose.

He called on Joseph Bonaparte, at his beautiful residence in Bordentown, New Jersey. It was a deeply interesting and affecting interview. The ex-king had always entertained the highest respect for the character of Lafayette, and greatly valued his friendship. Lafayette reciprocated these sentiments, with a just appreciation of the goodness of Joseph's heart, and the liberality of his opin-

ions. The scenes through which they had passed, the part which each had borne in those scenes, and the mighty changes which successive revolutions had wrought in their native land, conspired to give intensity to the emotions awakened by such a meeting on a foreign shore. To indulge them the more freely, Bonaparte and Lafayette withdrew to the library, where they remained alone more than an hour. After dinner, the grounds about the mansion were found to be filled with inhabitants from the country around, old and young, anxiously waiting to greet the "nation's guest." The ex-king immediately caused the doors to be thrown open for their reception. When they had retired, Lafayette apologized for having been the unconscious cause of such an intrusion upon the privacy of the house. But his host interrupted him, with the assurance that he was most happy to have his neighbors associated with him, in giving welcome to his friend and theirs, adding that he was quite accustomed to such gatherings of the people, as he always joined them on the 4th of July, in celebrating the anniversary of American independence.

He visited the grave of Washington. "The tomb of the citizen-hero," says Levasseur, "is scarcely perceived amid the sombre cypresses by which it is surrounded. A vault, slightly elevated, and sodded over—a wooden door without inscription, a few garlands, some green and some withered, indicate the place where rest in peace the puissant arms that broke the chains of his country. As we approached, the door was opened. Lafayette descended alone into the vault, and a few minutes after reappeared, his eyes overflowing with tears. He took his son and me by the hand, and led us into the tomb. We knelt reverently by the coffin, saluted it with our lips, and retired, all bathed in tears."

He celebrated at Yorktown, the anniversary of the



Lafayette in the Tomb of Washington.—360.

ANDERSON SC.

surrender of Cornwallis, occupying, while there, the same house that had formed the headquarters of that general, during the siege in 1781. It was much dilapidated, and, with the buildings around, presented the appearance of a sacked village and a deserted camp. Yorktown had never recovered from the disasters of the siege and the storm. The inhabitants were few. The ruined houses, blackened by fire, and pierced by balls, had not been repaired. The ground was still covered, in many places, with fragments of arms, broken shells, overturned gun-carriages, and other implements of war, some of which lay all exposed upon the naked rocks while some were half-buried in the sand. Tents grouped or scattered, according to the nature of the ground, and platoons of soldiers placed at various points, gave it all the appearance of a camp hastily formed near a village taken and occupied after an obstinate battle. To make the illusion more complete, camp-beds were prepared, and officers, civil as well as military, threw themselves at random on mattresses or straw, in the half-open and unfurnished apartments.

Aroused at daybreak by the roar of cannon, Lafayette with his escort, proceeded to Washington's marquee, which was erected on the plain, just out of the village, where he received the officers of the neighboring militia. This presentation, in the midst, as it were, of revolutionary scenes, was intensely exciting. Two of the old soldiers, who had never fainted in battle, nor shrunk from the face of an enemy, fainted away, under the power of their emotions, in shaking hands with Lafayette.

About noon, a grand military escort was formed, to conduct the general to the site of the redoubt which he had so gallantly carried on the seventeenth day of the siege. Here a triumphal arch had been erected, under which he was received, and eloquently addressed by

General Taylor, who, in concluding his speech, gracefully crowned Lafayette with a civic wreath. With characteristic modesty and tact, the general took the wreath, and turning to Colonel Fish, of New York, who bore a heroic part in storming the redoubt, he said — “Take it; this wreath belongs to you also. Preserve it as a deposite which we must account for to our comrades.”

The day passed in festivities, concluded by a grand military ball in the evening. The enthusiasm of the company was greatly increased by a discovery which some of the servants had made during the day. In an obscure corner of the cellar, a large box of candles had been found, which, by the marks upon the lid, were known to be a part of Lord Cornwallis's military stores, and which, singularly enough, had remained unmolested for forty-three years. They were brought out, and lighted for the evening's entertainment. The idea of dancing by the light of British candles—the last remnants of the stores furnished for the last act in the revolutionary drama—on the site of the last battle, and in the presence of the general who acted a most conspicuous part in it—the only surviving major-general of the revolution—was so exciting to the old soldiers, that, notwithstanding their great age, and the fatigues of the day, many of them refused to retire till the candles were entirely consumed.

On his way to Yorktown, Lafayette had passed through Washington, and been cordially received by President Monroe, at the “white house.” On his return northward, he passed a few days more at the capital. Congress was just assembling. It was the second session of the eighteenth congress. Lafayette and his companions were introduced to both houses with the highest honors. The speech of Mr. Clay, then speaker of the house of representatives, and the reply of Lafayette, are admira-

ble specimens of impassioned eloquence. But, albeit republics are proverbially ungrateful, congress was not satisfied with mere words. A bill was introduced and immediately passed, appropriating the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, together with twenty-four thousand acres of land, to be selected from the most fertile section of the public domain, as a slight testimony of the sense which the American people entertained of the services and sacrifices of Lafayette, in the cause of American independence.

Lafayette, who was at Annapolis when this bill was brought forward, was overcome with embarrassment at what he was pleased to regard as the munificence of Congress. And when a few of the members, who, from constitutional scruples, had felt obliged to vote against the appropriation, waited upon him to explain their motives, he replied, taking one of them cordially by the hand—"I fully appreciate your views. I assure you, if I had been a member I should have voted with you, not only because I partake of the sentiments which determined your votes, but also because I think that the American nation has done too much for me."

The presidential campaign of 1824 was an unusually exciting one. Four candidates were in the field—Adams, Jackson, Clay, and Crawford. Parties were arrayed in bitter strife for the mastery. Short-sighted politicians of the old world predicted a convulsion that would be fatal to the permanence of our constitution. To Lafayette it was a season of peculiar interest. He saw the harmonious workings of the well-adjusted system. He rejoiced in the spirit and intelligence of people who always held their personal and party preferences subordinate to the constitution, and bowed, without a murmur, to the will of the majority. To his companions, it was both amusing and instructive to see how all

party differences were laid aside, and how harmoniously and kindly the most active and bitter partisans of yesterday, could meet to-day, on common ground, and vie with each other in doing honor to the nation's guest.

At Camden, South Carolina, Lafayette assisted in laying the corner-stone of a monument about to be erected in honor of Baron de Kalb, who, like himself, came from Europe to offer his services to the American states, and who, after faithful and valuable services, during which he was eleven times wounded, fell in battle on the plains of Camden. At Savannah, he performed the same solemn service, to the memory of Greene and Pulaski.

At Charleston, the festivities of reception were rendered doubly interesting and grateful, by the presence of Colonel Francis K. Huger, the same who, thirty years before, had risked his life, and suffered a long imprisonment, in the effort to aid the escape of Lafayette from the castle of Olmutz. The citizens of Charleston well understood the generous gratitude of their guest, and paid a delicate and deserved compliment to the goodness of his heart, when they conceived the idea of blending the honors conferred upon him with public demonstrations of gratitude and respect to his heroic deliverer. Everywhere the name of Huger was inscribed by the side of that of Lafayette. They sat side by side in the triumphal car, and at the festive board, and shared the honors and felicitations of the people. On the day of his departure, the city presented to Lafayette a beautiful and highly-finished miniature of his friend, richly set in a frame of solid gold.

At Augusta, at Milledgeville, at Mobile, at New Orleans, at Natchez, at St. Louis, and a hundred other places, there was a brilliant succession of fêtes and triumphs, each vainly vying with the rest to invent some new mode of saying, "Welcome, Lafayette," or some

new expression of gratitude and respect. At Kaskaskia, where an unexpected pause was made, and where consequently no formal preparations had been made for his reception, the general met with one of the most affecting incidents of his tour. One of his companions, drawn by curiosity to an Indian encampment, a short distance from the town, found there a very pretty, intelligent, well-educated Indian woman, who spoke French fluently and with grace, and who expressed a great desire to see Lafayette. "I always carry with me," said she, "a relic that is very dear to me. I would show it to him. It would prove to him that his name is not less venerated among our tribes, than among the white Americans, for whom he fought." This relic was a letter, written by Lafayette in 1778, to her father, Panisciowa, a chief of one of the Six Nations, thanking him for the courage and fidelity with which he had served the American cause.

Mary was the only child of the brave old chief. On the death of her mother, he confided her to the care of the American agent, by whom she was treated as a daughter, receiving the same care and instruction as his own child. She became a Christian. Five years after, an Indian warrior came to her, as she was walking in the forest, and said that her father was dying, and wished to see her. Hastening off, without taking leave of her friends, and travelling all night, they reached at dawn of day, a small bark hut in the middle of a narrow valley. Here her aged father lay on his bed of skins, calmly expecting death. As soon as he saw his child, he drew from his pouch a paper, wrapped carefully in a dry skin, and gave it to her, with a charge to preserve it as a most precious gift. "It is a powerful charm," said he, "to interest the pale faces in your favor. I received it from a great French warrior, whom the English dreaded as much as the Americans loved him, and with whom I

fought in my youth." The next day Panisciowa died. Mary returned to her white friends, but soon after married the young warrior who had been her father's last friend and companion. Her meeting with Lafayette, her touching story, and the simple veneration with which her "relic" had been preserved nearly half a century, made a deep impression on the general's mind.

At Nashville, forty officers and soldiers of the revolution had assembled from different parts of the state, to bear a part in the triumph accorded to their old general. One of them, a very aged man, but full of life and activity, had travelled more than one hundred and fifty miles, "to see the young general." Seizing him warmly by the hand, he exclaimed—"I have had two happy days in my life—one when I landed with you on the American coast, in 1777, and this, when I see your face again. I have lived long enough." The old man's name was Haguy. He was a German. He had come to America in the same vessel with Lafayette, and had served under his orders during the whole war.

That variety might not be wanting to spice the otherwise tedious navigation of the west, the steamer that was to convey them to Louisville struck a snag in the Ohio. It was midnight, "dark as that dreadful night in Egypt." Alarm, dismay, terror, confusion—what words can adequately describe the scene! The boat was a total wreck. The passengers were all in imminent peril of their lives. But the first thought of every one was for Lafayette. The boat was immediately got out, and with great difficulty, and much against his own will, he was placed in it, and set on shore, with a few friends. By the unwearyed exertions of the crew and the passengers, all were safely landed. George Lafayette was one of the last that left the boat, having, by his coolness and tact, rendered such valuable service, that the captain remarked

—“He must often have been shipwrecked, for he has behaved to-night as if he was accustomed to such adventures.” On shore, with no shelter but the trees on the bank, they were visited with a heavy shower of rain. Some were half naked, all were more or less *en dishabille*. But, gathering around their fires, which were plentifully supplied with brushwood, they turned their misfortunes into mirth, laughed at each other’s grotesque appearance and costume, and by story, song, and joke, whiled away the hours till morning. About nine o’clock, the boat from Louisville appeared, bound down the river. One of the proprietors being present, he generously took in the whole party, and gave orders to return to Louisville, at once.

At Buffalo, Lafayette received a visit from Red Jacket, an old chief of the Senecas. They had met in 1784, in the great council at Fort Schuyler. Red Jacket spoke of that meeting, and of its results, with feeling. “And where,” demanded Lafayette, “is the young warrior who so eloquently opposed the burying of the tomahawk, on that occasion?”—“He is before you,” replied the son of the forest. “Time has much changed us,” said the general; “we were then young and active.”—“Ah!” exclaimed the Indian, “time has made less change on you than on me—look!” and uncovering his head he showed that it was entirely bald. The general, who wore a wig, to cover the ravages of time, was not a little amused; but fearing that Red Jacket might mistake it for a scalp, and undertake to supply his own loss at the expense of some unfortunate neighbor, he did not think it best to undeceive him.

While receiving the farewells of the multitude at Utica, the boat having already started, a tall, stout man, whose copper complexion, half-naked body, and grotesque ornaments, left no doubt of his origin, rushed

through the crowd, and ran along the bank, making signs for the boat to stop. The captain not deeming this advisable, the swift-footed hunter continued the chase, passed the boat, and waited her coming on the bridge below. Thence, leaping upon the deck, he exclaimed, "Kayoula ! where is Kayoula ?" Lafayette was pointed out to him. "I am the son of Wekchekaeta," said he, stretching out his hand—"of him who loved you so well that he followed you to your own country, after the great war. My father talked much of you, and I am happy to see you." After a little more talk, and a present from the great Kayoula, the young brave took his leave, springing from the boat to the bank, a distance of ten feet, with the lightness of a deer.

On the 15th of June, two days before the anniversary of the battle of Bunker hill, Lafayette reached Boston. He had travelled, in less than four months, more than five thousand miles ; having traversed a part of the gulf of Mexico on the south, and one of the great chain of lakes on the north ; having ascended rapid rivers to the verge of civilization, and received the homage of a score of independent republics, and of millions of happy, grateful freemen.

On the 17th, the corner-stone of the Bunker-hill monument was laid, with imposing ceremonies. Fifty years had elapsed since the first battle of the Revolution. Some of the old officers, and many of the old soldiers, who participated in the glory of that day, were present at the solemnity. They came up from every part of the wide Union—from every family of the sisterhood of states. Scarred with wounds, bent with years, and leaning upon their staves, with their children and their children's children, by hundreds and by thousands, they came, to celebrate the first great achievement of American arms, and lay the foundation of a monument which

should perpetuate its memory, and illustrate its history, to after-generations.

The magnitude and perfection of the arrangements, the vast numbers assembled, the presence of Lafayette and his brother veterans, the eloquence of Webster, and the unparalleled sublimity of the occasion, conspired to make this the grandest and most imposing festival of the age. After having, by a few master-touches, sketched in outline the history of the half century then elapsed, recalled the great event which that day commemorated, declared the purpose of the monument then to be reared, welcomed and congratulated the surviving heroes of the Revolution, and addressed an eloquent eulogy to the manes of the honored dead, the orator turned to Lafayette.

“Sir,” said he, “we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of the great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy to the living; but your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

“Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God, for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres, and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain, that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the new world to the old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers, to cherish your name and your virtues. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt,

thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott, defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor, and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, M'Cleary, Moore, and other early patriots, who fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold ! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold ! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours for ever !

“ Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this edifice. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Sir, monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them, this day, to Warren and his associates. On other occasions, they have been given to your more immediate companions-in-arms—to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. Sir, we have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in cælum redeas.* Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh ! very far distant, be the day when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy !”

Under an immense pavilion, covering the summit of the hill, more than four thousand guests sat down to an ample and substantial feast, which was enlivened by patriotic songs, appropriate toasts, and the most spirit-stirring strains of our national martial airs. After the regular toasts, the president proposed, “ Health and long life to General Lafayette ;” to which, after a very brief acknowledgment, in behalf of himself and his fellow-veterans, he responded, “ Bunker hill, and the holy re-

sistance to oppression, which has already enfranchised the American hemisphere—the next jubilee toast shall be, *To enfranchised Europe!*”

Having, by forced and rapid journeys, visited the principal places in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont—having traversed the fields of Saratoga, Germantown, Barren hill, and Brandywine—having made a parting call upon the venerable ex-presidents Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, at their respective homes in Massachusetts and Virginia, and having received, at Washington, from the lips of the president, John Quincy Adams, a national farewell and benediction, to which the responsive *Amen* went up from twelve millions of grateful hearts, from the hills and streams of New England, from the broad prairies and ocean lakes of the west, from the rich savannahs of the south, from the fertile plains and teeming valleys of the central states—ay, and even from the scattered forest-homes of the red man, the ancient lord of all this wide domain—he embarked, on the 8th of September, on board the Frigate Brandywine, sailed down the Potomac, and, from the capes of Virginia, bade a final adieu to the shores of America. ¹⁸*

“From the moment of your departure,” said Mr. Adams, “the prayers of millions will ascend to heaven, that your passage may be prosperous, and your return to the bosom of your family as propitious to your happiness, as your visit to this scene of your youthful glory has been to that of the American people.” And so it was. The prayers and blessings of a mighty nation followed him across the Atlantic, followed him to his home, followed him to his grave; and, while our free institutions shall endure, generation after generation, the ever-growing millions of our boundless inheritance, shall rise up and call him blessed.

* 2 yrs. 23 days altogether in America on the

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830.

STEP by step, the tyranny of the old regime was regaining its hold upon France. The Bourbons, forgetting the lessons of the past, and growing arrogant in power, began to draw closer the reins of government, to assume the ancient prerogatives of the crown, and to encroach upon the constitutional rights of the people. Louis XVIII. commenced this work of usurpation, which Charles X. followed up with bolder strides. His instruments, throughout France, even to the lower orders of the police, were undergoing a gradual training in the old order of things, and fast learning the lessons of abject servility to the crown, and jealousy of every other kind of greatness. When Lafayette landed at Havre, on the 2d of October, 1826, he was greeted with a cordial welcome, and with demonstrations of affection, confidence, and respect, which gave serious alarm to those who believed that all such personal homage should be reserved for royalty. At Rouen, the people were disposed to show him the same respect. They assembled in large numbers before the house of an old friend, on whom he had called, and saluted him with the usual shouts and *vivats*, accompanied with appropriate strains of music, from a martial band. Lafayette came out upon a balcony, and commenced addressing the people, when a detachment of royal guards, accompanied by some of

the armed police, fired upon the citizens, commanding them to disperse. Several persons were wounded. The police, with drawn swords, attended Lafayette to the hotel, in order to prevent any farther demonstrations of popular feeling. They were met, however, by a party of determined young men, who were fully prepared to contest with them the liberty of speech, guarantied to them by the constitution. The guards were driven back. The people, with an enthusiasm greatly inflamed by this ill-timed interference, rushed together in larger numbers, and expressed in louder and more emphatic terms their gratitude and attachment to the champion of liberty. On his departure, the following morning, a numerous and respectable body of citizens, marshalled in due order, assembled, without molestation from the police, and escorted him, with civic honors, along the first stage of his journey.

Soon after his return, though he was now seventy years of age, and might well have claimed repose from all public affairs, he was elected to the chamber of deputies. Men of his stamp were needed to resist the rapid encroachments of despotic power. He resumed the task with all the ardor and fearlessness of youth. He insisted upon extensive reforms, declaring that "while nations were advancing governments were retrograding," and contending that government, which was duly the creature and servant of the nation, must be compelled to keep pace with it, in every liberal improvement. He attacked, with all his eloquence and zeal, the system of ministerial patronage, and earnestly pleaded for a reform and extension of trial by jury, and the abolition of capital punishment, and of punishment by the branding-iron, both of which he looked upon as belonging to the age of barbarism. He proposed and advocated the divorcing of religion from its unnatural alliance with the

state, an enlarged and liberal system of national education, a rigid economy in the administration of public affairs, the re-organization of the National Guards, the abolition of the slave-trade, and the utmost extension of the right of suffrage. His speeches on these and kindred topics, during the sessions of 1828 and 1829, were marked by the same plain, direct, practical common sense, and logical force, which distinguished his earlier efforts in the same cause, and which, together with his fearlessness and perseverance, made his the most formidable name in the ranks of the opposition.

During the summer of 1829, Lafayette made a visit to his relatives in the departments of Auvergne and Isère. His journey was everywhere interrupted by demonstrations of popular regard. From city, town, and village, the people came out to welcome and to honor him. From Clermont to Chavagniac, from Chavagniac to Vizille, and from Vizille to Lyons, his journey was little less than a civic triumph. At Grenoble a silver crown, encircled with a fillet of oak-leaves, was presented to him by one of the most aged and venerable of the citizens. In the evening the whole town was illuminated. True to their royal master, on whom their living depended, some of the civil authorities would have repressed the enthusiasm of the people, and forbidden these public displays of regard for a private citizen. But the sentiment of the people was too deep and too strong to be restrained. It was prudently suffered to speak and act itself out, without molestation. At Vizille, the mayor took the lead in the arrangements made for his reception. The display was beautiful and brilliant in the extreme. Every house and public building in the city was illuminated, while bonfires were lighted on all the Alpine peaks around, presenting an immense amphitheatre, the mountain torches glaring in the deep

dome above, and the illuminated streets twinkling as footlights below. The mayor was punished for his temerity in taking part in these festivities, being immediately removed from office, by order of the government. But so perfect was the unanimity of sentiment among the citizens, that no one could be induced to accept the vacant magistracy. At Vienne, the whole population turned out to greet their venerated guest. Fireworks, prepared for the occasion, but prohibited by the authorities, were taken across the Rhine, and displayed from the opposite bank.

Excited to seven-fold zeal by the paltry jealousy of the government, the citizens of Lyons prepared to receive the general in a style of unparalleled magnificence. Eighty thousand persons poured out from the gates on his approach, to give him welcome; while the remaining population took possession of the streets, windows, balconies, and housetops, and greeted him with incessant acclamations, as he passed along. Forty-four years before, at the commencement of the first revolution, and in the morning of his proud career, he had received, in passing, the honors of the city. A few years after, on relinquishing the command of the National Guard, he was presented with an emblematic memorial of its regard, as beautiful in its classic device as it was flattering and appropriate. It was in the form of a Roman banner. The shield, which was encircled with a crown of oak-leaves, and surmounted by the Gallic cock, represented Curtius plunging into the flaming gulf, for the preservation of his country; while the motto, C. L. O. C. (*Cives Lugdunenses optimo civi**), conveyed the highest honor which it was in the power of words to express.

The authorities of the city, to save their offices, took no part in these honors. They even interposed some

* The citizens of Lyons to the best citizen.

slight obstacles to the enthusiasm of the people. But it continued during three entire days to display itself in every variety of military parade, civic procession, water excursion, evening party, and masonic festival, and closed with a magnificent banquet of five hundred covers, where the homage of the city to its guest was again embodied in the following toast: "Other warriors have gained battles; others have made eloquent orations; but none have equalled him in the civic virtues."

The report of these proceedings greatly exasperated the court, and an order was actually prepared, and on the point of being despatched by telegraph, for the arrest of Lafayette. It was prudently reconsidered, however, and the general departed from Lyons, attended by an immense cavalcade of citizens, and an escort of cavalry, who, notwithstanding the rain, which fell in torrents, accompanied him six miles from the city. Declining numerous pressing solicitations from other towns and cities on his way, he hastened home, to prepare for a new struggle with despotism. Another revolution had already commenced.

The year 1830 opened with dark signs of a coming storm. Polignac was placed at the head of a ministry pledged to the crown and distrusted by the people. The king, in his speech at the opening of the assembly, denounced the whole country as a focus of revolt and sedition, and boldly defied any interference with his measures. The deputies, headed by Lafayette, replied with a tone as bold and resolute as the king's. The king immediately dissolved the chambers, and ordered a new election, at the same time using means to overawe and control the suffrages of the nation. In this he was unsuccessful. The greater part of the liberal deputies were re-elected. The new assembly was even more popular than the last. To neutralize, if possible, this un-

expected defeat, and awe the people by a show of desperate resolution, the king, overstepping all the pledges of the constitution, put forth a series of ordinances worthy of the despotic genius of Napoleon. The first pronounced the new chamber dissolved before it assembled. The second annulled the electoral laws then in force, reduced the number of deputies nearly one half, and materially changed the conditions of suffrage and representation. The last abrogated the laws which guarded the liberty of the press. These ordinances appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 26th of July.

“Patriots can not recall, without terror,” says Sarran, “the first effect produced by these ordinances. It was a sullen stupor of almost incredulity. The *Moniteur* had been circulated several hours. The citizens had read and re-read, for the twentieth time, the insolent manifesto, and could not yet persuade themselves of the actual existence of such insane audacity.”

The day passed off without disturbance, though not without the frequent interchange of looks and words of fearful import. In the evening, meetings were held in various places, and men who had all the day been meditating revolt, came together for conference and action. The conductors of the press were foremost in preparing for resistance. They drew up, signed, and published, a bold and vigorous protest against the ordinances, as a direct invasion of their constitutional rights, as well as a violation of the dearest rights of the people. It was widely disseminated, and operated with electric energy throughout the city. Public opinion was instantly aroused to action. Undisguised indignation succeeded to sullen surprise. The overcharged magazine of popular discontent, burst into awful explosion, and Paris, but now apparently so quiet, was all in arms—a camp on the eve of battle.

Mechanics, laborers, students of the Polytechnic school, and of the schools of law and medicine, and citizens of every name and grade, equipped themselves for the conflict, and assembled in vast numbers at the cry, resounding in all the streets, "*Vive la Charte !*" or, "*Vive la Liberté !*" The alarm reached the palace, where the foolish king and his besotted ministers flattered themselves that they were fully prepared for any emergency. The royal command was given, and the heavy battalions marched out in complete array, to meet and subdue their masters, the sovereign people. Their masters were ready to receive them. A few hours had sufficed for preparation. In every quarter, the streets were barricaded. Carts, carriages, paving-stones, and every kind of rubbish, were converted into walls and parapets, behind which determined bands of volunteer citizens awaited the onset. Windows, balconies, house-tops, became so many garrisons of defence, from which the maddened populace poured forth defiance and death upon their assailants. Paris was a Babel of arms. Liberty and despotism, the people and the crown, were once more met in deadly strife for the mastery. It was an issue of blood only. The time for concession and conciliation was past. Victory or submission were the only alternatives.

Lafayette was at Lagrange. The *Moniteur*, with a copy of the decrees, reached him on the morning of the 27th. Comprehending, at a glance, their inevitable effect, he immediately set off, post-haste, for Paris, where he was received with acclamations of joy and confidence. The war had already commenced. It was then raging in many of the streets. It wanted a leader, and all eyes were turned to Lafayette. He was called by acclamation, to command the National Guard.

Such of the deputies as were then in Paris, assembled

at a private house for a consultation. Lafayette and La-fitte were earliest on the ground. A discussion ensued. Many hesitated and trembled. Some openly advocated submission. Lafayette, deeming that impossible, declared that a revolution, with just and sufficient cause, had already begun, and proposed the immediate appointment of a provisional government. At this moment, it was announced that the people, after a sanguinary engagement, were masters of the Hotel de Ville. A loud call was made for instant action. Some of the timid gave way. Others still hesitated, and recommended an humble petition to the throne. Lafayette, indignant at these delays, while the blood of the people was flowing in all the streets, rose and declared that, as his name was already, by the confidence of his fellow-citizens, placed at the head of the insurrection, he should wait no longer. He should establish his headquarters in Paris the next day. He was true to his word. The whole night he passed in inspecting the barricades, and making preparation for the arduous work of the morrow. The battle was renewed at dawn. The people, under their old commander, and the tri-colored flag of liberty, carried everything before them, till the royal troops, giving way on all sides, were driven back upon the Louvre and the Tuileries. Encouraged by these successes, the deputies reassembled on the 29th, organized a provisional government, and formally invested Lafayette with the powers of a military dictatorship.

Meanwhile, the Louvre and the Tuileries had surrendered to the invincible courage of the people, and Lafayette, supreme ruler of France, commenced his triumphant march to the Hotel de Ville, whence he issued the following proclamation :—

“ My dear fellow-citizens and brave comrades : The confidence of the people of Paris once more calls me to

command the popular force. I have accepted, with devotion and joy, the powers that have been confided to me; and, as in 1789, I feel myself strong in the approbation of my honorable colleagues, this day assembled in Paris. I shall make no profession of my faith. My sentiments are well known. The conduct of the Parisian population, in these last days of trial, has made me more than ever proud of being their leader. Liberty shall triumph, or we will perish together. "LAFAYETTE."

The revolution was now accomplished. The din of battle ceased. The glorious three days of July were ended. Charles X., seeing the folly and hopelessness of further attempts at coercion, thought yet to save his crown, by retracing his steps, and bowing to the popular will. To this end, he sent a deputation to the Hotel de Ville, to treat with the new representatives of the people, at the same time announcing the revocation of the obnoxious decrees, and the nomination of a new and liberal ministry. To this Lafayette replied, "It is too late—all conciliation is impossible—the royal family has ceased to reign."

Thus peremptorily rejected at the Hotel de Ville, the crest-fallen monarch applied to the deputies, requesting their mediation to bring back the people to their old allegiance. "It is too late," replied Lafitte. "War has decided; Charles X. is no longer king of France."

Thus ended the dynasty of the elder branch of the Bourbons. The deposed king, after another abortive attempt to regain his crown by force, sent in a formal abdication, and passed unmolested to England, muttering, as he went, "That old republican Lafayette has been the prime mover of all this mischief."

Once more without a government, the question for the people was, what shall replace the fallen dynasty? It was a question of deep import, and real difficulty. Many

of the patriots of the old school, and with them the mass of the people, hoped and asked for a republic. They were tired of experiments with the throne. They wished to lay aside the crown and the sceptre altogether. They looked to Lafayette as their chief, and desired no other. The headquarters of this party were at the Hotel de Ville.

On the other hand, a strong and respectable party, with Lafitte at its head, still clung to the monarchy. Its chiefs were members elect of the chamber of deputies, and, as such, were in constant session. Lafitte was an eminent banker, reputed immensely rich, but really so only as he wielded and controlled the public and private resources of France. He had large and intimate relations with the aristocracy. He was the banker and confidential agent of the duke of Orleans, the richest man in France, and the representative of the younger branch of the Bourbon family. He understood his character. He had unlimited confidence in the liberality of his views; and he immediately conceived the idea of reconstructing the "monarchy surrounded with republican institutions," with Louis Philippe at its head. How much of personal interest was mingled in his plans, it is impossible now to say. On his own responsibility, he sent for the duke to come to Paris. The duke hesitated, but came. A proclamation was immediately drawn up, proposing the duke of Orleans as lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and the duke, after consulting Talleyrand, the grand-chamberlain of the ex-king, ventured to accept the nomination.

This was the work of the deputies, aided by a few of the peers. Meanwhile, the people, who had accomplished the revolution, and especially the citizen-army, loudly demanded a republic, with Lafayette for its president. Numerous and influential deputations waited

upon him, and urged him to use the power already vested in him, to crush the intrigues of the monarchists. Others, less republican in their views, when the proclamation of the deputies appeared, begged him to take still higher ground, by mounting the throne himself. "If we are to have a king," said they, "why not have you?" To which he laughingly replied, "No, no; a crown would become me as a ring would become a cat." He received proposals, also, from another party, advocating the claims of the young duke de Bordeaux to the vacant throne, and naming himself as regent; but would not listen for a moment to any proposal which looked to his own aggrandizement. The sole purpose of his life was, to obtain liberty for France.

It was the earnest and oft-repeated wish of Lafayette, that a provisional government, of the simplest form, should be instituted, until the nation, in its primary assemblies, should have opportunity to designate its own form of government, and choose its own rulers; but the deputies, the identical deputies who, but a few days before, had been re-elected in spite of the known wishes and powerful intrigues of the dethroned king, and who, therefore, with great show of right, claimed to be the special and only representatives of the popular will, were alike averse to a provisional government, and to an appeal to the primary assemblies. To this body, Lafayette could not consistently oppose himself. From it he received the power with which he was then invested; and to it he held himself amenable, so long as it did not contravene the expressed will of the nation. The nation had had no opportunity to express its will. To Louis Philippe he had no personal objection; he respected his character, and had confidence in his principles. He moreover regarded the lieutenant-generalship as only a temporary substitute for the office with which he was

himself invested, and which he was eager to lay down as soon as the liberties of the people, and public tranquillity, were secured. When, therefore, a deputation from the chamber announced to him this new appointment, he gave his assent without hesitation, declaring, at the same time, that, like his own authority, it must be regarded only as provisional, subject to the will of the nation, and that nothing was definitive but the victory and sovereignty of the people.

The nomination was not acceptable to the people of Paris. Louis Philippe was a Bourbon; the very name was hateful to them. So strong was this feeling, that when, on his arrival before the Hotel de Ville, his friends attempted to raise the usual *vivats* of welcome, they were instantly drowned by vociferations, a thousand times reiterated, of "*Vive la liberté !*" — "*Vive Lafayette !*" and when, again, as the prince presented himself in the hall to the young soldiers of the polytechnic school, a few feeble voices cried, "*Vive le duc d'Orleans !*" it was answered by tremendous shouts of "*Vive Lafayette !*" repeated with all the vehemence of French enthusiasm. The same spirit was manifested in the streets and public squares of the city, where the populace tore down from the walls the proclamations announcing the appointment of a lieutenant-general, and severely chastised those who were employed in posting them.

This was the trying moment for the patriotism of Lafayette. He sympathized with the people in many of their objections to the appointment; but he recognised the authority of the body from which it emanated. It was the only real authority then existing in France. The question of submission, then, was a question between anarchy and order, which, to the mind of Lafayette, was no question at all. He felt that the destiny of France was in his hands — that all eyes awaited his movements.

The result showed that he was still, as ever, true to himself and to France.

The declaration of the chamber was read, the assembled multitude remaining silent and unmoved ; but when, at the close of the reading, Lafayette came forward, gave his hand cordially to the prince, presented him with a tri-colored flag, and commended him to the people as their legitimate leader, their enthusiasm began to take a new direction. Cries of "*Vive le duc d'Orleans !*" rose from among them on every side, though for a long time they were scarcely heard, amid the more numerous and heartfelt shouts of "*Vive Lafayette !*" It was a pregnant crisis. In the face of the deputies and of the prince, dissatisfaction and opposition were expressed in the most violent terms. "Sir," said General Dubourg to the duke, in a loud, stern voice, that reached the ears of thousands, "you know our wants, and our rights ; if you forget them, we will remind you of them."—" *Le Bourbon ! Le Bourbon !*" shouted the multitudes, in tones of bitter execration, ready, at a word, to take arms again, and shake off for ever this hateful yoke.

By the all-powerful influence of Lafayette, the tumult was quelled, order and harmony restored, and the new authority quietly confirmed and established. Having obtained a promise from the chiefs of the popular party, that the tranquillity of the city should not be disturbed, he proceeded to the Palais Royal, the city residence of Louis Philippe, and demanded a frank expression of his views on some of the fundamental principles for which France had been so long contending. These were, the sovereignty of the people, the abolition of hereditary peerage, universal suffrage, the re-establishment of the National Guard, and the abolition of government monopolies. The answers of the prince to all these points were full, decided, and satisfactory.

"You know," said Lafayette, "that I am a republican, and that I consider the constitution of the United States as the most perfect system that ever existed."

"I think so, too," said the duke; "it is impossible to have lived two years in America, without being of that opinion. But do you think, in the present situation of France, and in the present state of public opinion, that we can venture to adopt it here?"

"No," replied Lafayette, frankly; "what the French people want, at the present juncture, is a *popular throne*, surrounded by republican institutions."

"That is just what I think," said the duke, at the same time going into a full explanation of his views, which were liberal and republican far beyond the expectations of the general. They satisfied him; and the announcement of them, as the basis of the new government, pacified the people. The attention of the citizen-army was, for the moment, diverted to another quarter.

Charles X. was still in France. With the court, and the royal army, he had retired upon Versailles and Rambouillet, and was preparing for farther resistance. The announcement of this fact roused to new phrensy the turbulent spirit of the metropolis. At a call from Lafayette for volunteers, twenty thousand men assembled in the Champs Elysées, where he had appointed to review them. It was a motley corps, made up of all the heterogeneous materials of a Paris population, in costumes of every style and hue, from the broadcloth frock of the most approved pattern, to the faded calico roundabout and the ragged blouse. Their arms were equally diverse and grotesque. There was nothing in the workshops of France, that would carry powder and ball, which was not represented there. There was no uniformity in anything, but in the spirit which animated the corps. Flushed with recent victories, and confident of

success, they were impatient to be in the field. Though but a few miles, Lafayette had made arrangements for transporting the troops to the scene of action; and here was the most amusing spectacle of all. It was a scene for Hogarth. Carriages, omnibuses, hackney-coaches, cabriolets, chairs, carts, wagons, and vehicles of every name and form, with equipages as various and unique, loaded within and without, with this gay, wild, grotesque multitude, rushing to battle, as to a fête, singing, laughing, shouting, as they went. Never before was there such a mustering under the banner of Mars; and the fiery god, as he came to marshal it, must have supposed it the host of Bacchus, bound for the conquest of the East. Like that host, it marched to certain and easy victory; for, when the royal army, like that of Syria, "heard the noise of chariots, and the noise of horses, even the noise of a great host, they arose, and fled for their life." Thus ended the military and regal career of Charles X.

The revolution of July was felt throughout the world. In England, it produced an excitement which overthrew the tory ministry, and hastened the triumph of some important measures of reform, which had long been under discussion. Throughout the United States, it was hailed with the highest enthusiasm, and responded to by addresses and deputations from the principal cities to the National Guard, and to Lafayette. The same was done in Mexico, Bogota, Vera Cruz, Chili, Peru, and Bolivia. Even in far India, the echo of this great event was heard. "In Delhi, the holy city, the people and the authorities, Indian and English, celebrated it in a magnificent entertainment—the dwellers on the banks of the Ganges drinking to the men of the barricades, and shouting, '*Lafayette, for ever!*' "

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIPPE.

THE expedition to Versailles diverted, but did not allay the excitement in Paris. Knowing that the dispersion of a vanquished army was an easier achievement than curbing the refractory spirit of a victorious mob, Lafayette had assigned the command of this expedition to General Pajol, and remained himself at his post in the Hotel de Ville.

The 3d of August was the day appointed by law for the meeting of the chambers. Hitherto, everything had been irregular and provisional. Now, there was a legitimate government, chosen by the people, and duly organized. But its leading members had already lost the confidence of the Parisian populace, and of the young soldiers of the revolution. The session had scarcely commenced, when a tumultuous crowd, mad with rage at the miserable shadow of a constitution which was proposed for acceptance, appeared at the door of the chamber, to overawe its deliberations, or dissolve it by force. It was a fearful scene, even to those who had just passed through the bloody conflicts of the last three days of July. The chamber was courageously resolved to maintain to the death its legal right to deliberate. The mob was equally resolved that its deliberations should assume a more republican tone. The tumult was at its height, and an-

gry words were about to be exchanged for angrier blows, when Lafayette, entering by the great court on the opposite side of the hall, presented himself to the crowd of intruders. They were hushed to silence in a moment. "My friends," said he, "it was my duty to take measures for defending the independence of the chamber. I neglected to do so, and I acknowledge my error in that neglect. But I did not anticipate, after all that has passed in the revolution, the violence which has been manifested to-day. I have no force to oppose to you. But, if the liberty of the chamber is violated, the disgrace will fall upon me, who am intrusted with the maintenance of public order. I leave my honor in your hands, and I count upon your friendship for me as a security that you will depart peaceably." At these words, the storm subsided, as by magic, and, with long-continued shouts of "*Vive Lafayette!*" the softened multitude retired.

Popularity and influence like this were dangerous gifts for a private citizen to possess. They excited the jealousy of the chamber, which had just reaped the benefit of their exercise. And many of its members secretly resolved that, as soon as his services could be dispensed with, he should be driven to retirement.

The discussion of the new constitution was arduous and exciting. It contained, like that which had just been set aside, the monarchical principle. It proposed to place the duke of Orleans on the throne, with the title of Louis Philippe V. To this Lafayette objected, as unworthy of a republican monarchy, which, he said, "ought to have nothing in common with the pretensions and tinsel show of the ancient kings of France." To which the duke himself replied, in writing, "You have gained your point—it shall be as you wish." Accordingly, after accepting the constitution, signing it with his

own hand, and swearing, in the presence of the people, to abide by and support it, he was crowned with the simple title of—*Louis Philippe, King of the French*.

On accepting the office of lieutenant-general, Louis Philippe had earnestly requested Lafayette to retain command of the National Guards of France. On ascending the throne, this request was renewed. Believing that the re-organization of the citizen-army throughout the kingdom, was essential as a measure of defence and of public order, he consented to serve, provisionally, till that organization should be completed, though still believing, as in 1790, that, as a permanent office, it conferred too much power to be safely wielded by one man. At the name of their general, the National Guards rose up and organized themselves, in all places, as if by enchantment, till they numbered seventeen hundred thousand—an army of volunteer freemen, under officers of their own choosing, and full of ardor and patriotism.

On the 29th of August, fifty-two battalions of this citizen army, numbering sixty thousand men, perfectly armed and equipped, and exhibiting in all their movements the most beautiful military precision, presented themselves in the Champ de Mars, to receive their colors from the hand of the king. It was a brilliant and imposing spectacle. Louis Philippe, overcome by his emotions, on receiving the homage of this mighty army, cordially embraced Lafayette, exclaiming—"This is dearer, far dearer to me than a coronation at Rheims." To which the troops and the immense crowd of people around responded, "*Vive le roi ! vive Lafayette !*"

In apparent unison with these acclamations, which blended the name of Lafayette, as a worthy comrade, with his, the new king expressed by word and by letter, the most enthusiastic admiration and confidence in the National Guards, and in their "patriarch commander."

“Tell them,” said he to Lafayette, “not only that they have surpassed my expectations, but that it is not possible to express all the joy and happiness they have afforded me. A witness to the confederation of 1790, in this same Champ de Mars, a witness also of the grand effort of 1792, when forty-eight battalions, raised within three days, by the city of Paris, joined our army of Champagne. I am enabled to draw a comparison, and with transport I assure you, that what I have just witnessed, is infinitely superior to what I then considered so complete, and which our enemies found so formidable.” In similar terms of admiration and gratitude, he spoke of Lafayette, of his exalted patriotism, and his eminent public services, inspiring the hope that in his future career, as king of the French, he would follow the example, and be guided by the counsels of the patriot, hero, and sage, who had contributed so largely to pave his way to the throne.

Amid his accumulated cares, as commander-in-chief of the National Guards, Lafayette, though necessarily withdrawn, in a measure, from the political arena, did not lose sight of the great interests of humanity, and the claims of oppressed individuals. Among these, the rights of the colored citizen received his earliest attention, in reference to which he obtained the definite declaration of the government, that “it regarded all citizens as perfectly equal, and admitted no inferiority, or superiority, founded on difference of color.”

With equal promptness, on his motion, the patriots condemned to imprisonment or exile for political offences, under the last Bourbon dynasty, were restored to their rights, by a general act of amnesty. Not satisfied with this, Lafayette collected them together, on their return, and presented them to the king. It was on an occasion when the saloons of the Palais Royal were filled with

deputations from all parts of France. An *aide-de-camp* on duty announced, in a loud voice — “*The gentlemen condemned for political offences ;*” and Lafayette, advancing at the head of them, said to the king — “Here are the political offenders ; they are presented to you by an accomplice.” The king received them with the most gracious affability, and expressing deep regret for the persecutions they had endured, promised them his warmest interest in their behalf, and a speedy indemnification for all their sufferings — a promise, unhappily, like many other promises and pledges of the citizen-king, too soon forgotten.

On the 4th of October, 1830, Belgium proclaimed its independence. In their earliest movements to this end, the patriots of Brussels opened a correspondence with Lafayette. In every successive step, they sought his counsel and aid. And, when their work of revolution was completed, and their independence openly declared, they sent a special embassy, requesting him to accept the chief-magistracy of the proposed republic. This high honor he modestly declined, recommending that they should choose one of their own citizens to be the head of the new government. And when, on more mature deliberation, a majority of the nation decided upon a republican monarchy, like that of France, they applied once more to Lafayette, and proffered him the crown. This he also unhesitatingly declined, adding that the only crown he could accept was a civic wreath. He knew and felt that even for the interests of liberty in other countries, he could be more useful in France than anywhere else. The crown was then offered to the duke de Nemours, the second son of Louis Philippe. Regarding this choice as the free act of a sovereign people, Lafayette strenuously urged its acceptance. But, through the intrigues of Talleyrand, that ubiquitous incarnation of

diplomacy, who, to the surprise and chagrin of all true Frenchmen, was just made ambassador to England, the throne of Belgium passed to other, perhaps abler hands.

By the electric influence of France, the political elements of Europe were thrown into general agitation. Not only in Belgium, but in Poland, Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, there were signs, like the handwriting on the wall, not to be mistaken, though not often wisely interpreted by the Belshazzars of the continent. In many of the centres of insurrection, "*Vive Lafayette!*" was the watchword at which the people rose against their oppressors. The advocates of legitimacy, or the divine right of kings, insisted upon the policy and propriety of interfering, to arrest the progress of revolution and liberalism. Lafayette contended, constantly, and with great power, for the doctrine of non-interference, in its largest sense, which implied the double duty of leaving each nation free to choose its own form of government, and its own rulers, and of protecting them in that right, by *preventing* the interference of other powers. Louis Philippe, and his council, already beginning to lean toward absolutism, were disposed to pursue a half-way course, under pretext of avoiding collision and war. They proposed to say to Austria, for example, "*We do not consent to your interference in the affairs of Italy,*" and yet quietly to suffer Austria to trample Italy under her feet. In all these cases, and as often as the question came up, Lafayette was the bold, consistent, untiring, unanswerable, advocate of the cause of universal liberty. By his eloquence and influence, the independence of the South American republics was acknowledged by France. By his influence and persuasions, the timid policy of the council was so far modified, as to pledge the support of France to the patriot cause in Italy and in Belgium. An army-corps was actually

formed upon the Alps, to keep the Austrians in check, and to protect the progress of the popular movement in Italy ; and the courts of Vienna, Russia, Naples, and Turin, were officially notified that France was determined to enforce, in that quarter, the full application of the doctrine of non-interference. The assurance that this was the established and unchangeable policy of the government, was thrice demanded by Lafayette, and thrice repeated by the minister, in the chamber of deputies. The formal and unqualified assent of the king was also obtained, in a private interview. How shamefully these fine promises were recalled, and this high and honorable ground abandoned, at the nod of the Holy Alliance, and in spite of every remonstrance from the heart of France, is already too well known.

In all measures for the advancement of liberal views of government, Lafayette was the man of paramount influence and importance, for he carried them, by the combined force of argument, truth, and personal popularity, against the secret desires and purposes of the government. Lafayette was France. He was so regarded by the oppressed in Europe. Deputation after deputation addressed their prayers to him, invoking, through him, the aid of France, to sustain them in their struggles for freedom. He was so regarded by the cabinets of Europe. In more than one instance, they directed their diplomatic agents to consult him confidentially, "to ascertain his personal intentions" with regard to the foreign policy of France. For the necessity of doing this, and for his uncompromising hostility to the views of the Holy Alliance, they feared and hated him, and actually made his removal from the councils of France, and from the command of the National Guards, an indispensable condition of further diplomatic relations with the French cabinet. He was so regarded by the king, and by the

aristocracy whom the king was beginning to court. His exalted influence, his unlimited moral power over the people, was an inconvenient restraint upon their movements, which they secretly resolved to get rid of. But they were not yet prepared to part with him. A new storm was rising. There were "breakers ahead," which they clearly discerned in the distance. They felt the necessity of a skilful and experienced pilot, to guide them safely through.

The ministers of Charles X. were about to be brought to trial, on a charge of high treason, as the authors of the edicts, and the instigators of the bloody scenes of July. The king regretted their arrest. He sincerely wished their escape from France. The people were excited to the highest pitch of phrensy against them. Impatient, even of the forms of law, they demanded their instant execution. All the disorganizing elements of a Parisian populace, stirred up and fomented by foreign intrigue, entered into and aggravated the embarrassments of the case. The voice of reason, and of justice, was drowned by the maniac cries of "*Vengeance ! vengeance !*" which rose, in incessant peals of fury, on every side. Lafayette, opposed, by principle, to capital punishment, anxious that the glorious revolution should not be marred by one act of cruelty or injustice, and determined, above all, to maintain, at every hazard, the majesty of law, and the inviolability of the trial by jury, stood between the accused and their accusers, not to defend them from merited punishment, but to secure to them a fair hearing, and an unbiased trial. It was a season of intense agitation and excitement, and all the hopes of the court were centred in Lafayette.

The sudden change from distrust to confidence, from jealousy to respect, from low sarcasm to the most fulsome flattery, which was exhibited in the deportment of

the court toward the chief of the National Guards, "the unique man," as he was called, "whose virtues eclipsed the finest characters of antiquity," was truly amusing. As the prince royal said, who was witness to a great part of the comedy, "it was enough to make one die of laughing." Lafayette's praise was on everybody's lips. His name was but a synonyme of loyalty, patriotism, and disinterestedness. His powers were prodigiously increased. The police of the Palais Royal, of the Luxembourg, and of the chamber of peers, and the supreme command of the troops of the line, in addition to that of the National Guards, were exclusively confided to him, with unlimited discretionary powers.

The trial commenced about the middle of December, It was like the sitting of a court in the crater of a volcano. The agitation and excitement were unparalleled, even in Paris. The judges, terror-stricken, hesitated to take their seats. It was only after the reiterated assurances of Lafayette, that he would answer, with his life, for the inviolability of their persons, that they ventured to open the proceedings.

The people raged, but law triumphed. "Vast crowds collected in every point of the capital. The most violent tumults arose. The streets adjacent to the Luxembourg were filled by an insurgent mob. The close ranks of the battalions which defended the advance posts were broken. The great gate of the palace was attacked. Frantic shouts resounded in the very tribunal. A few steps more on the part of the insurgents, and the sanctuary of justice would have been sullied by the blood of the accused, and perhaps of their judges. The revolution would have been dishonored, and Heaven knows what storms might have gathered over France."

Without a shot, without a blow, all this wild commotion was hushed, this maniac fury curbed, restrained,

driven back, by the moral power of one man. Unarmed, unguarded, in company only of a few of his aids, Lafayette went forth into the midst of the mob, and addressed them. At the sight of his venerable figure, the tumult ceased. At the sound of his persuasive voice, the frantic multitude became calm, fell back, and retired from the scene, shouting, "*Vive Lafayette !*"

The name of that mob was Legion. Diverted from one point of attack, it broke out at another. But all points were alike guarded; and, wherever danger was, there was Lafayette. The trial went on undisturbed. The sentence was pronounced, a sentence utterly at variance with the expectations of the people, and even of the army, by whom the people had been prevented from taking the law into their own hands. The whole nation demanded and expected a sentence of death. And when the sentence of perpetual imprisonment was announced, they regarded it as a virtual acquittal, and the whole trial as a mere farce, a mockery of the forms of justice.

The agitation was now greater than ever, for it spread into the ranks of the National Guards. It seemed about to turn against the sanctuary of law, the very arm on which it relied for defence. The disaffection was extensive, and rapidly increasing on every side. The most disastrous consequences were apprehended. But the same mighty spell which had quelled the fury of the populace, disarmed the rage of the National Guards. Lafayette, by a few persuasive words, won them all back to discipline and order. He even intrusted that same guard with the care of the prisoners, to convey them back, in open day, through the ranks of an exasperated populace, to the prison of Vincennes.

The crisis passed. Law triumphed: Order and tranquillity were fully restored. The king, the cabinet, the chambers, were in transports of gratitude to Lafayette,

whose prudence, wisdom, energy, and patriotic devotion, they could not find words adequately to commend. But personal gratitude is often a burdensome obligation. The exalted popularity of Lafayette, and their indebtedness to his unbounded influence, was an absolute incubus upon the selfishness of the court. The danger which threatened them was over, and jealousy, private and official, aided by foreign intrigue, returned to its work of detraction. It was artfully represented that Lafayette was greater than the king—that Louis Philippe was only a tool in the hands of the dictator-general. The most insidious caricatures were distributed even in the palace, representing the king standing in the presence of Lafayette, with the crown in his hand, and Lafayette saying, “Sire, be covered.” Some of the deputies styled him “*the mayor of the palace*.” The court was well disposed to listen to these insinuations. It sighed for more of the splendor of a court, for royal etiquette, for an hereditary aristocracy, and for confidential diplomatic relations with all the cabinets of Europe. To the former, Lafayette was the persevering enemy, the most formidable obstacle. The latter, though sought for by the most humiliating sacrifice of personal and national dignity, was peremptorily refused, except upon the condition of the dismissal of Lafayette from his high command, and from his paramount influence in the councils of France.

On the 23d of December, the thanks of the chambers were voted to the National Guard, and “*its illustrious chief*,” for their recent eminent services in quelling the popular insurrection. On the 24th, that “illustrious chief” was, in the most insulting and cowardly manner, dismissed from his command. This was done by a proposition to abolish the office of commander-in-chief of the National Guard. It was ably but vainly opposed. The

court and the Holy Alliance demanded it. Their feelings were all embodied in these words of Charles Dupin—"General Lafayette can not remain all his life the living law, unless the political law be defunct."

While these discussions were going on, Lafayette was at his headquarters, anxiously watching over the peace of the city. On being informed of the proceedings, he immediately sent in his resignation to the king. The king, professing ignorance, surprise, and grief, requested an interview. He seemed vexed and distressed for what had passed, assured the general that the proposition had not passed into a law, and urged him to withdraw his resignation. Lafayette persisted, and availed himself of the opportunity to say, with his accustomed frankness, that he was not satisfied with the policy of the cabinet. They were already departing from the liberal bases of July. The interests of liberty were at hazard. "I should not be acting with sincerity," said he, "if I should remain longer, like an opaque body, between the people and the government. When I retire from my post, every one will better see on what he has to depend."

The National Guard and the people were indignant at this treatment of their venerated chief. Their indignation would probably have assumed a formidable shape, had not Lafayette, with a patriotic devotion which was ever superior to personal considerations, poured oil upon the troubled waters. He addressed them in terms of the most affectionate gratitude, demanding of them, as the last and only proof of their regard for him, redoubled activity and zeal in the maintenance of peace and order. The court, in the meantime, expressed publicly the most profound sorrow, and even the chamber, which, on the 24th, had voted his dismissal, declared, on the 28th, that "the illustrious chief of the National Guard had resigned his functions in spite of their entreaties."

When this farce was over, a charge was presented, like that by which the patriotic and gifted Lamartine is now cast into temporary eclipse, representing Lafayette as "implicated in the recent disturbances," as "having a secret understanding with the insurgents," by which alone the corrupt court could account for his influence over them. To these charges, he deigned not a word of reply. They passed by him "like the idle wind." They fell, blunted and harmless, at his feet, turned off from their mark by an impenetrable shield of conscious and invulnerable integrity.

Lafayette remained at his post in the chamber of deputies. He saw and deeply lamented the retrograde tendency of the new government, its rapid strides toward a revival of that very despotism which the revolution of July had thrown off. Doubtless he saw, in the vista of years the revolution of February, the flight of the citizen-king, and the republic of 1848. "I know," said he, one day, to Louis Philippe, "I know only one man who can bring France to a republic, and you are that man."—"Wait till such a time," replied the king, "and you will see."—"Wait?" resumed Lafayette, "but are you sure you will reign till then? For my part, I doubt it." The precise time referred to by the king is not known. But recent events have justified the far-sighted sagacity of the republican instincts of Lafayette. Louis Philippe is no longer king of the French. The throne on which he sat is destroyed; and France, it is to be hoped, has made her last experiment with royalty.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CLOSING SCENES AND DEATH.

THOUGH rejected by the court, as "a stiff old republican;" though cast off by the king as a troublesome Mentor, to whom he owed too much, Lafayette lost nothing of the confidence and affection of the people. They still looked up to him with filial reverence and admiration. Wherever he went, he was greeted as the patriarch of freedom. In April, 1831, as he entered the hall of one of the tribunals in Paris, to which he was cited as a witness, the members of the bar, the jury, and the people present, rose and saluted him. When he retired, they showed him the same mark of respect.

At the funeral of General Lamarque, in June, 1832, an immense multitude, of every grade of society, assembled to do honor to the illustrious dead. It was more like a triumphal, than a funereal procession. It commenced, even at the doors of the house of mourning, with shouts of "*Vive la liberté ! vive Lafayette !*" The enthusiasm of the people alarmed the court. The guards were ordered out, to keep the peace. A collision ensued. Blood was shed; and two days, during which many lives were lost, were required to restore order to the capital. Lafayette, who was on foot, following the funeral car, as a mourner, left the scene as soon as the ceremonies of interment were completed. Not finding his own carriage readily, he entered a coach, with his

son George, and directed the driver to take the shortest route to his hotel. But the people, who had followed him in great numbers, immediately detached the horses from the coach, and, in spite of his remonstrances and entreaties, persisted in drawing him home, in triumph. Shouts of "*Vive Lafayette ! vive la republique !*" rose on every side. The combat had begun. A numerous crowd, gathering round the vehicle, and excited to the highest pitch of exasperation, begged that he would suffer them to carry him to the Hotel de Ville. Had he consented, they would once more have installed him in his high command, as the leader of a new revolution. But he rejected the proposal, and implored them, for his sake, to disperse peaceably. At this moment a charge was made in that quarter by a detachment of dragoons. Turning suddenly off to the right, with the coach, his devoted attendants withdrew from the scene of conflict, and bore him safely home, making the streets resound, as they went, with acclamations for Lafayette, and the republic. A single word from him would have been the signal for a general revolt.

His retirement from the funeral *cortége* had been unobserved by the greater part of his friends ; and he soon became the object of the most lively solicitude. The most extravagant and contradictory rumors were circulating among the multitude. In one place, it was confidently asserted that the insurgents had conducted him to the Hotel de Ville, where he was presented, in open rebellion, as the head of a new government. In another, it was declared, with equal confidence, that his body, pierced with wounds, was being carried through the streets by the republicans, who were instigating the people to vengeance. In yet another, it was affirmed that the government had arrested him, and thrown him into the dungeon of Vincennes. The palace was in the ut-

most consternation. Eighty thousand troops were called out to quell the supposed insurrection. The arrest of Lafayette, as the instigator of a treasonable plot, was proposed, but prudently abandoned. Paris was placed in a state of siege, and the popular monarchy, not yet two years old, entrenched itself behind a hundred thousand bayonets, and an immense park of artillery, against this tumultuous movement of the sovereign people.

Guizot had already acquired that paramount influence in the counsels of the court which made its ruin inevitable. *Quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat.* Lafayette, seconded by Lafitte, Arago, Garnier-Pagés, Odillon Barrot, Dupont de l'Eure, and others of the same high order, were already arrayed in that firm, consistent, patriotic opposition, of which some of them, after seventeen years of unwavering resistance, are now permitted to see the triumphant issue. To this opposition, Lafayette bent all the moral force of his genius and his mighty influence. To this he consecrated the unabated energy of a green old age, the accumulated practical wisdom of threescore and sixteen years, the force of an untarnished name, and a world-wide popularity and renown. He labored in hope, confident that, though unexpectedly delayed, the end was at hand.

With him, the end *was* at hand—the end of earthly hope, and toil, and glory. Overcome by fatigue and exposure, consequent upon attending the funeral of a young friend, on the 2d of February, 1834, he was violently attacked with ischury, to which he was predisposed. This was followed by other unfavorable symptoms, from all of which he so far recovered as to be able to take the air, and receive some of his friends, by multitudes of whom his house was constantly besieged, anxious to see his face, or at least to inquire for his health. On the 9th of May, in taking his usual ride, he was exposed to a

sudden thunder-storm, and a cold northwest wind, which brought on a relapse, with greatly-aggravated symptoms. His sufferings, during the eleven days that followed, were very severe. But he bore them with admirable fortitude and serenity. He had a strong hope of recovery. Having, however, on the third day before his death, expressed some doubts of the result, he paused a few moments, as if in thought, and then said—"What would you have? life is like the flame of a lamp; when the oil is out, the light is extinguished, and all is over." He died on the morning of the 20th of May, wanting three months and sixteen days of completing his seventy-seventh year.

The tidings of his death threw a deep gloom over the gay city, which was felt in every part of France. The nation mourned. The people wept. All ranks, all parties, strove together, to do reverence to the illustrious dead. His remains were conveyed to the tomb with the highest civil and military honors, attended not only by the people in a body, and the National Guard, but by the high officers of the crown, the legislative chambers, the academies, the schools, the representatives of foreign governments, resident strangers, all, enemies as well as friends, anxious to testify their respect for pre-eminent virtue. The bells of Paris tolled a mournful requiem. The bells of all France, of Belgium, of Switzerland, of Italy, of Poland, of England, of Ireland, of Scotland, sent back an answering tone of national and individual grief; while, from across the broad Atlantic, the solemn wail of fifteen millions of bereaved freemen, rose on the breeze, like the mourning of the Israelites at Abel-Mizraim. In all lands, the language of eulogy was exhausted in attempts to portray his worth, and estimate the greatness of the world's loss in his death. The most eminent statesmen, the most eloquent orators of the age, made his character the theme of their praises.

The person and the ordinary dress of Lafayette are exceedingly well represented in most of the engraved likenesses which are known in America. He was tall, well-proportioned, and strongly built. His head was large, his face oval with regular features, and an ample forehead. His eyes, of a grayish blue, were large, prominent, expressive, and full of kindness. His mouth, to which a smile seemed natural, had, at the same time, an expression of firmness. His complexion was clear. The whole expression of his countenance exhibited a blending of benevolence and frankness — a benevolence that knew no bounds, a frankness that knew no disguise. Notwithstanding his life of toil, exposure, and suffering, and the scenes of turbulence and anxiety he had passed through, his temperament was so equable, his disposition so calm and gentle, that, at the age of seventy-seven, his face was not marked by a single furrow. His deportment was noble and dignified, his manners easy, graceful, and winning, his voice agreeable and of great capacity, his style of conversation natural and unrestrained. His habits were simple and regular. In his diet he was abstemious and temperate, eating moderately, and seldom drinking anything but water.

He set a great value upon time, regarding it as “a gift, which he was not at liberty to lose himself, and still less to occasion the loss of to others.” He never wasted time in social games, or other “innocent pastimes,” as they are called. Though generally humorous, and often witty in conversation, he never descended to trivial expressions, nor indulged in the profane and vulgar phrases, so common even in what is termed polite society. He loved truth above all things, and could not allow himself, even in jest, to make the slightest approach to falsehood. Consequently, his word commanded the highest respect, from enemies, as well as from friends. It was never called in

question. He never contracted an engagement except after mature reflection, but his promise once given was never broken. He was extremely scrupulous on points of probity and honor in public affairs, and believed that, for the intercourse of nations as well as of individuals, "honesty was the best policy," and frankness and sincerity the truest wisdom.

During his last illness, he was intensely interested in several questions that agitated the chamber of deputies, and earnestly desired the consent of his physicians to go and take part in the discussion. One of those questions related to the payment of the indemnity due to the United States. He contended that the honor and dignity of France were pledged to the payment, and that it was as much her interest, as her duty, to discharge the claim; for it was one of the maxims of his political creed, that with governments, no less than with individuals, duty and interest are inseparable.

His benevolence was unbounded. Lagrange, with the district in which it stood, was witness to the largest exhibitions of this noble trait. In all that region, he was known, and familiarly spoken of, as "the people's friend." Two hundred pounds of bread, baked expressly for the poor, and of the same quality as that used by his family, were distributed every Monday. In times of scarcity, the quantity was often increased two and threefold, accompanied with a mess of soup for all who came. During the great scarcity in 1817, the distress at Lagrange was excessive. The poor of the country, and of the neighboring villages, were fed at the château. There were not less than seven hundred applicants for relief daily, who received soup, bread, and money. By this lavish bounty, the funds of the family, and the granaries of the farm were exhausted before the end of the season. A family council was held, the result of which was that

the whole family, at the suggestion of Lafayette, removed to Chavagniac, giving up to the poor what they would otherwise have consumed, and thus eking out their supplies till the coming harvest.

During the prevalence of the cholera, in 1832, Lafayette, in spite of the remonstrances and entreaties of his friends, hastened to Lagrange, with all his family, to administer to the wants of his poor neighbors. He took with him physicians, medicines, and all needful appliances. He went from house to house, comforting the sick, encouraging their friends, and setting an example of courage and devotion, which was of infinite service to the panic-stricken peasants. The cost of these noble efforts exceeded seven thousand dollars.

Lafayette was ambitious. But his ambition had no stain of selfishness. Regencies, dictatorships, crowns, were repeatedly offered him, and urged upon his acceptance. But he sought only the welfare of mankind. He desired the good of the whole. He preferred his family to himself, his country to his family, and mankind to his country. His ambition was but a world-embracing benevolence. Reputation, glory, he held in high estimation. He aspired to the praise of men. But it was a reputation for truth and goodness—the glory of always doing right, that he aimed to secure. And he preferred infinitely the approbation of his own conscience to the favor and praise of the world.

There was a beautiful adjustment, a perfect balance, in his intellectual faculties. He was gifted with a quick apprehension, profound judgment, strong powers of reasoning and combination, a lively imagination, inexhaustible invention, a retentive and ready memory, uncommon decision and firmness, associated with uncommon prudence and moderation, and a calm immovable self-possession, which was not less superior to the insidious ap-

proaches of selfishness, than to the sudden assaults of fear and accident. His reading was extensive. His acquirements were large and various. His reflections were profound, and his conclusions thoroughly digested. His opinions were all his own. He yielded no allegiance to sect, to party, or to name. Amenable only to conscience, he exacted for himself, he demanded for all men, unqualified independence of thought and opinion.

The predominance of the moral and social elements, in the character of Lafayette, and the admirable sway they held over the whole man, is a phenomenon difficult to be understood by diplomatists and politicians. It is not strange that they who limit the evidences of greatness to a genius for conquest, or to the accumulation of wealth, and the acquisition of titles, and power, should fail to comprehend him, and underestimate his strength. To such, his character is an intellectual anomaly, which they can only explain by supposing in him a radical want of judgment and energy. Judging him by their own standard, which excludes conscience from a voice in public affairs, it was a foolish weakness in him to acknowledge its control. It was mental imbecility that held him back from grasping and retaining the power that was offered him. "He was incapable," say they, "of carrying out his own plans. He yielded to others what he might have controlled himself." True, in great national questions he yielded always to the will of the people, in whom he acknowledged all sovereignty resided. To resist that will would have been treason. Had the people, in their primary assemblies, elected him to the chief-magistracy, he would doubtless have accepted it. Unlike the majority of men in high places, his practice always corresponded with his professions, his political actions with his political creed. To opinion he opposed only reason and persuasion, reserving for moral

crime, and the excesses of anarchy, the arm of force, and the restraints and severities of law. It was morally impossible that he should enact the dictator. He was above the petty ambition of power. A crown, a throne, the constrained homage of a nation or a world, which could fill and satisfy the highest aspirations of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Napoleon, were utterly beneath his desire, too little for his thought. "It is a singular phenomenon," says Madame de Stael, who knew him intimately, "that a character like that of Lafayette should have been developed among the higher ranks of French gentlemen."

The late venerable John Quincy Adams, in his eloquent eulogy of Lafayette, said: "Pronounce him one of the first men of the age, and you have not yet done him justice. Try him by that test to which he sought in vain to stimulate the vulgar and selfish spirit of Napoleon; class him among the men, who, to compare and seat themselves, must take in the compass of all ages; turn back your eyes upon the records of all time; summon, from the creation of the world to this day, the mighty dead of every age and clime; and where, among the race of merely mortal men, shall one be found, who, as a benefactor of his kind, shall claim to take precedence of Lafayette?"

If to such noble qualities of heart and mind—such lofty patriotism, such exalted virtue, such faultless morality—had been added the pure faith and sublime hopes of the gospel, nothing would have been wanting to complete the portraiture of *a perfect man*.

THE END.

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